7234 R. Great Britain & Ind.

A GLEAM OF COMFORT

TO THIS

DISTRACTED EMPIRE,

IN DESPITE OF

FACTION, VIOLENCE, and CUNNING,

DEMONSTRATING

THE FAIRNESS AND REASONABLENESS

OF

NATIONAL CONFIDENCE

IN THE

PRESENT MINISTRY.

Addressed to every ENGLISHMAN, who has at Heart the REAL HAPPINESS of his COUNTRY.

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M, DCC, LXXXV.

ERRATA.

At the Concluſion of the Note to Page 39, inſtead of *they will certainly ſucceed*, read *they have ſucceeded.*

In line 14 of Page 52, inſtead of *at the ſame*, read *at the ſame time.*

Firſt line Page 48, inſtead of *Lewis IV.* read *Lewis XIV.*

Line 21 Page 81, inſtead of *a million*, read *a lack.*

THE contemplation of our country's calamities is ever unpleaſing. A people, however, can no more be reſcued from their adverſities, by ſhutting their eyes, than is a diſeaſe to be eradicated by ſcarfing up the ſeat of infection. To emancipate a nation, her misfortunes muſt be ſought at their ſource; and fruitleſs is the hope of a perfect cure, unleſs the *cauſe* of evil be extinguiſhed.

HIS mind muſt be ſingularly organized who can behold, without pain, the preſent condition of the Britiſh Empire. It is indeed no exaggeration to aſſert, that in almoſt every diſaſter that can afflict a ſtate, this nation unhappily ſurpaſſes the reſt of Europe. Public and private want; a monſtrous maſs of debt, and not the fainteſt hope of removing it; an immenſe fall in revenue, and a large failure of the moſt promiſing taxes; diſcontent and diſtruſt throughout our dominions; coldneſs and diſſaffection in our fellow ſubjects; contempt and averſion in foreign nations; a precarious peace, and our

neighbours arming at our threſhold; ill humour corroding in all our dependencies, the parent country rent to pieces by profligate factions, and our gracious Sovereign inſulted upon the throne of his anceſtors, by a daring band of aſpiring miſcreants. Theſe are a few of the calamities of this empire, and ſure the review were melancholy, if we had no proſpect of redemption.

DREADFUL however as our condition is, it is not deſperate. We are unhappy, but not hopeleſs. England ſeems to have been the peculiar care of Heaven and miraculous interpoſition alone could have ſaved us from the perils that from time to time impended our very exiſtence. But all paſt dangers ſhrink into nothing, compared with our ſituation under the late Miniſtry. It may ſavour of enthuſiaſm perhaps, but yet I cannot help believing, that the hand of Providence was concerned in forming the preſent Adminiſtration, from whom alone this country has a right to entertain any confidence of being placed upon that footing of eaſe and comfort which a wiſe people ſhould aim at.

AND does the reader think that the complicated miſeries which have diſtracted this country during the preſent reign are attributable, as ſhallow men aſſert, to the incapacity and wickedneſs of particular Miniſters or meaſures? Againſt all ſuch ſpeculations I beg leave, in the directeſt terms, to proteſt,

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and however the ſentiment I am about to deliver may militate againſt ancient habits—however it may combat with prejudices, fond from familiarity and venerable from their age—however diſſonant it may ſound to thoſe, whoſe indolence or idolatry prohibits the acceſs of truth, whoſe fixed errors preclude from analyſing things in their naked nature bared from the diſguiſe of ſpecious eſtabliſhments—however it may be ſcouted by that impetuous faction, who glory in curtailing the authorities of the Crown, and degrading the executive government—whatever effect it produce upon any man or body of men, I have no ſcruple in affirming, that *all* the miſery, diſtreſs, ſhame, and diſhonour of this nation, *ſpring from*, are *twiſted with*, and *grow out of*, the *eſſence* and *nature* of the *Britiſh Conſtitution*.

THE extreme delicacy of this ſubject requires every poſſible conſideration. It is a debt the reader fairly owes me and I demand it of his juſtice. It is not reaſon, but prejudice—it is not the wiſdom of men, but their weakneſs I dread. Whoever goes beyond the beaten courſe of political enquiry, has always much to encounter; much more is the hazard in attempting the refutation of long eſtabliſhed doctrines, and the expoſition of falſe and vicious ſyſtems, when thoſe ſyſtems are ſanctioned by the attachments of mankind for a ſeries of ages. Here it is

that we are forced to confederate againſt ourſelves, and that the pride of the human ſoul is enliſted for its deſtruction. The hardſhip of aſſerting truths, which are not obvious, is at all times great, but it is a gigantic labour, when ſpecious falſehoods, impoſing knaveries, and fraudulent ceremonies, which have been reverenced for a length of time as ſolid and ſubſtantial excellencies, are to be contended with.

How many important tenets depend on no other foundation, than habits of belief, and currency of opinion! Few men can give a better reaſon for their religious and civil creed than this ſimply, that their fathers profeſſed the ſame faith—and though it is prepoſterous that a religion or a government muſt be the beſt in the world only becauſe our anceſtors thought them ſo; how ſeldom is it that either is vindicated upon wiſer principles and indeed how rare to find any one who can abide the diſquiſition with the temper or ſoberneſs of a rational being!

A DELUGE of groſs deluſion covered all Chriſtendom for above a thouſand years. What anathema's, thunders, deſtructions were levelled againſt any perſon who ſtrove to emerge from this gulph of darkneſs. All the Divinities of Heaven were centered in the perſon of that Pope, who has ſince been a compendium of all that is abominable upon earth. Such *was* the effect of inveterate cuſ-

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tom, ſuch *is* the effect of liberal conviction; the reform of religious error was rapid and deciſive in this iſland, and civil error will, I truſt, be aboliſhed with the ſame expedition and ſpirit.

LIBERTY ſounds well. The very name of the Britiſh Conſtitution bewitches and faſcinates men. It is not admiration they feel, it is idolatry. It is not the cool worſhip of reaſonable creatures, it is the furious bigotry of deſperate enthuſiaſts.

BUT let us not be debauched by figures! Let us take off the veil that ſhrouds this Pagod—behold the oracle diſrobed of its mantle, and what a combination of deformity preſents itſelf! What a maſs of fraud, impoſture, ignorance, inconſiſtency, folly, corruption, and violence, make up this vaunted ſyſtem on which this nation prides itſelf, and for which we are ſo juſtly the butt of Europe!

THE boaſted ſuperiority of the Britiſh Conſtitution is ſaid to conſiſt in its blending a portion of the three ordinary forms of government.—True, it contains certain qualities of each, and this very commixture it is, that conſtitutes its vice and renders it the very worſt form of civil polity in the univerſe.

AN ariſtocracy is always haughty, imperious, and auſtere. Infinite miſchief grows out of ſuch a government, even if it were

pure and unmixed. A democracy is ever turbulent, untractable, and violent; by its very genius, it produces eternal ſtrife and tumult, though it were reſiſted by no other power whatever.—But curſed with both theſe forms, and poſſeſſing no uſeful, no vigorous, or efficient particle of a monarchy, the Britiſh Government is at once the moſt miſerable and ridiculous ſyſtem that can be imagined. Our hiſtory is nothing but a ſeries of cabal, diſcord, ſedition, and rebellion to the Prince; of tyranny, treachery, and cruelty towards each other. In other free governments the rage of parties and the violence of factions ſometimes ceaſe, and the publick enjoy a caſual hour of tranquillity. But with us, diſſentions, animoſities, and outrages are perennial. Looking back for a century, we ſee from the daring ſpirit that ſprings from this conſtitution, the beſt monarchs counteracted in their laudable views of abridging the pernicious powers of the people and in ſtrengthening and eſtabliſhing the Royal authority, whoſe feebleneſs and inefficacy encouraged theſe ſtruggles in the ſubjects. One amiable Prince, (whom we have ſince juſtly canonized) periſhed upon a ſcaffold and another with his family expelled the Crown for ever, contrary to every law and againſt the ordinations of Heaven, (for who can doubt that Sovereigns are ſacred, and that government is a right divine.) The land

land ſtreaming with rivers of blood, and cruelty and carnage deſolating theſe miſerable iſlands upon pretences of *liberty*. In the preſent century, we have had leſs ſlaughter and ferocious barbarity it is true, but not more comfort. The block had luckily gone far in the annihilation of moſt of our great families and the Crown, it is true, has had little trouble in latter times from the ariſtocracy. A new race of nobles, ſuitable to the views of the Court, was erected by the new family that was called to the throne (whoſe right is as holy and whoſe perſons are juſt as ſacred as the former family.)—But by the *people*, the governing authority has been more thwarted, baffled, reſiſted, and reviled, than ever. Oppoſition grew ſyſtematic and was openly proclaimed in the Sovereign's teeth. A favourite Miniſter has been forced from the King's council with as little ceremony as they hang a highwayman, and party violence and villainy carried to extremities ſcarcely credible.

We are told, that each of the three eſtates has its ſeparate properties, and that the Conſtitution ſubſiſts by the tenacious preſervation of theſe properties. But we find in fact, that theſe properties are ſo undefined, ſo bewildered in ambiguity, that they become an endleſs ſource of wranglings and diſſentions. The excluſive right of the Commons yeſterday, is the clear right of the Lords tomor-

row. Diſcuſſions and controverſies ſucceed, and the nation is kept in hot water, by a claſhing of juriſdictions, and a war of declarations and manifeſtos. The Crown which is the natural ſeat of all powers, privileges, and properties, is put behind the curtain in many of theſe diſputes and the King's name perhaps never once mentioned, when in fact he is principal in the cauſe and planned the whole litigation. The equipoiſe, or to uſe the new word, the balance, of the ſyſtem has never exiſted at all; for nothing can be more directly repugnant than the theory and practice of this Conſtitution.

It is in truth a machine conſtructed upon principles ſo whimſical and extravagant—compoſed of materials ſo oppoſite and diſcordant—with means ſo inadequate to the objects, and with objects ſo unaccompliſhable by any poſſible operation of the inſtruments—ſo confuſed, ſo complicated, ſo contradictory, that no ſtate pilot ever conducted it with harmony in the movements, or with ſucceſs in the execution of its functions for any length of time.

The end of human nature is happineſs, and the perfection of human polity is the promotion of it. That government is moſt complete, whoſe ſubjects are moſt contented; murmurs and miſeries are the natural and eternal produce of our ſyſtem, and by this infallible teſt, it is by much the moſt pernicious government of Europe.

WITH thorough confidence therefore it is, that I ſubmit to thoſe who have ſagacity to penetrate this maſs of fatal foolery and liberality to own their conviction, whether it is not the true intereſt of the Engliſh nation, that this ſyſtem of vexation, inconſiſtency, impoſture, venality, corruption, and perfidy ſhould be utterly demoliſhed.—And that all the powers of all its various parts be concentrated in their rightful and genuine depoſitory—*the perſon of the King*.

THE Miniſters that beſt promote this GREAT CAUSE, are moſt entitled to our confidence and gratitude. Our abhorrence alone is due to thoſe who thwart it.

IN THIS COUNTRY there is a ſet of men who, upon this wiſe and virtuous principle deſerve the ſincere reverence of this nation. A ſet of men, who (above the feelings that counteract the wiſhes of ordinary people, at the hazard of their individual ſafety, the certain loſs of private good fame and public reputation, under the weight of national execration and againſt an ocean of obſtacles) have ſteadily and uniformly ſought the happineſs of the people of England, in their own deſpight. Even when covered with public infamy and perſecuted by popular hatred, they have in the meek ſpirit of the divinity, cried out "*We forgive them, they know*

know not what they do," and in thoſe very moments exerted their beſt faculties to redeem us from the miſeries which are our inheritance under this form of government and which muſt be our lot until the radical overthrow of the Engliſh Conſtitution is happily accompliſhed.—The reader cannot well be ignorant that I mean the *King's friends*, or to ſpeak more in technicals, *the ſecret adviſers of the Crown.*

HISTORY records ſome inſtances of a generous ſelf-devotion in bodies of men of the antient world.---In modern times certainly nothing has occurred worthy to be compared with the illuſtrious advocates of *our* welfare. In the conduct of thoſe mentioned in Roman ſtory, there is without doubt much to be commended, but it ſhould be remembered that the greateſt of them, the Horatii, the Decii, the Fabii, were backed by the people and incited by the ſure applauſe of their *Co-temporaries*; whilſt on the contrary the King's friends are deteſted by the preſent generation, and are animated only with the dry confidence of *future* fame. A view of their *objects* elevates the latter into a ſplended ſuperiority. The Roman worthies ſtruggled only for the *glory* and *liberty* of their country (which the Zealots for free ſyſtems think ſynonimous) whilſt the King's friends purſue the *ſolid happineſs* of the people

ple in defiance of a hoſt of doctrines and a mountain of prejudices, which great writers (Lock, Selden, Sydney, Somers, &c.) and the hereditary inſanity of Engliſhmen have rendered reverend and holy. Oppoſed by greater impediments, the title of the latter to immortality is therefore greater and more decided.

It were a tedious taſk to detail all the labours of theſe good men for this great end. Much of their atchievements muſt have reached the knowledge of every man in this country, but their previous feats are reduced to nothing when compared with their exploits during the laſt year. To thoſe I mean to confine myſelf.

The full half of this mighty undertaking was effected at once in the fall of the late and the riſe of the preſent Adminiſtration.

It is a general opinion that Fox's India bill was thrown out, not from its defects but as a means of ſubverting the Miniſtry,—this opinion, popular as it is, I beg leave to deny. It is not the fall of any particular Miniſter that can conſummate the great work of our redemption from this conſtitution. That ſcheme had been often tried before and tried in vain. The cause was but ſlightly promoted by ſuch events, and conviction in the country progreſſed very ſlowly.

Unless the defeat of obnoxious Miniſters

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was accompanied by circumſtances that tended to expoſe the falſe principles, and unravel the impoſtures of the Conſtitution, the whole were a raſh and impotent experiment. Milder methods than the loſs of the India bill might have vanquiſhed the Portland Adminiſtration, but that, of all others, was the beſt, becauſe in that daſhing meaſure many leading and capital ends were compleated at a ſingle ſtroke.

THE ruin of their enemies was, I am perſuaded, a ſmaller motive with the King's friends, than convincing mankind by their *manner* of overthrowing the India bill, of the rank abſurdity of theſe two fundamental maxims of the Britiſh Conſtitution—viz. That each branch of the three eſtates *muſt* be independent of the reſt—And that the Crown *can* never intefere with the deliberations of Parliament. The lie direct was given both to the *muſt* and the *can*. For the Houſe of Lords *was not* independent, and the Crown *did palpably* interfere.

OBSERVE how much they accompliſhed in this act—They overturned an obnoxious Adminiſtration, formed one exactly ſuitable to their own views, and demonſtrated the impoſture of theſe two primary maxims.

FOR *centuries* it has been thought, that the King's diſcretion in appointing Miniſters was governed by the opinion of the Houſe of Commons; and *ſince the revolution*, it has

has been received like poſitive law. The repugnance of this rule to all the objects of the King's friends, on the face of it, ſhews the neceſſity of its total extinction. In this perſuaſion, the ſoul of the doctrine was attacked in *argument*, and in *fact* it was utterly done away, for whilſt the Commons were loading the Miniſtry with cenſure upon cenſure, the King was loading them and their connections with honours and emoluments.

A REFORM of the Houſe of Commons has been for ſome time popular in this country. If by any miracle that ſcheme ſhould take place and that the Houſe of Commons *continued* to preſerve its weight in our ſyſtem, the reader muſt ſee the total inefficacy of all the efforts of the King's friends againſt the Conſtitution. Perſuaded of this, they attacked the popular branch with ſo ſignal a ſpirit, ſo compleatly diſgraced its privileges, and eſtabliſhed its debility and contempt, in a manner ſo deciſive and exemplary, that if the moſt faſcinating theory of the wiſeſt of theſe reformers were adopted tomorrow, not the leaſt foundation is there of an apprehenſion from the authority of the Lower Houſe, or its reſiſtance to the laudable operations of the King's Friends. And the beauty of this atchievement was, that the degradation of the Commons was principally effected by the aid and concurrence

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of the moſt furious of theſe reformers. The project indeed exiſted for ſome time.

THAT great and good man, (whoſe abſence from our public counſels would be irreparable, if his genius did not inſpire the Miniſtry) the Earl of Shelburne, has made an early figure in this eſſential part of this great undertaking. That unparalelled ſtateſman told the Houſe of Lords,* that an old man, who lived ever ſince Queen Anne's time, *actually declared*, "that the Commons had gained *too much* in the ſcale of the Conſtitution!" Who this old man was we never heard, but his opinion proves him a wiſe old man—A good old man he muſt be, for he was Lord Shelburne's friend!

BY the practice and theory of this Conſtitution, (for this is one of the few inſtances where they do not vary) the two Houſes have certain authorities, independent of each other and diſtinct from their legiſlative functions. The Lords have a dernier and final power of judication. The Commons the power of granting the public money.

MONEY is the ſinew of civil operations; abilities and ingenuity are fruitleſs without it. What ſucceſs could the King's friends expect whilſt this great right remained intangible in the Houſe of Commons? They

* UPON a motion of his own in May 1783, recommending, "that in augmenting the public debt, care ſhould be taken to "leſſen it."

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began accordingly with *dividing* it, as the ſureſt method of taking it away altogether in due time.

THE debate upon Lord John Cavendiſh's loan diſcovered the firſt *ſerious* proof of this great deſign. The Peers Shelburne, Thurlow, Richmond, and ſeveral of the minor claſs of theſe illuſtrious confederates, in the plaineſt language denied this privilege of the Commons. They declared its aſſumption to be an *uſurpation*, and aſſerted *their equal* power of originating money bills whenever they pleaſed. This was only a prelude to the grand ſcenes that ſucceeded.

BEFORE the Chriſtmas receſs of 1783, the Houſe of Commons reſolved an *opinion* concerning the exerciſe of a *diſcretionary* power in the Board of Treaſury touching a particular branch of *money*. The Houſe of Lords in ſome time after declared that this reſolution of the Commons was a breach of the law of the land and agreed in a ſtring of motions, the ſubſtance of which was, a direct charge upon the Lower Houſe of *violating the Conſtitution*, in giving their *opinion* concerning this *diſcretion* in the Treaſury upon the ſubject of *money*. The Lords uſed no manœuvre, no intrigue, no underhand trick in this buſineſs, but openly, and in the face of day, publiſhed this gallant corollory of that celebrated reſolution of the Long Parliament,

Parliament, which declared the Houſe of Lords uſeleſs.

Two great ends were gained to the *King's friends* in this buſineſs. The fundamental principles of the Houſe of Commons were cut up by the roots, and the fallacy of our ſyſtem was demonſtrated in this proof of the doubtfulneſs and incertitude of Parliamentary Rights,—when in the year 1784 one branch ſolemnly proclaims that the other branch had broken the law of the land and violated the Conſtitution, in doing *that which has been their conſtant practice for a thouſand years*—NEVER QUESTIONED, NEVER DISPUTED BEFORE THAT MOMENT.

THERE is now no impediment to the execution of all the money tranſactions of this nation in the Upper Houſe; and perhaps, Lord Ferrers, who is a maſter in finance and a friend to the King's friends, may open *his* budget this winter in that auguſt aſſembly, if indeed he can ſpare time from the improvement of the navy.

THUS having confirmed, that the Commons of England had not half the influence of the Common Council of London, upon the ſituation of a Miniſter—and having deprived them of their vaunted power, of *granting money*, there remained only to degrade their moral character to the loweſt extremity. In this the ſucceſs of the King's friends was marvelous.

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THE majority that condemned the miniſtry was one hundred and thirty, before the receſs. But by the abilities of *him* "wondrous him, that miracle of men:" By the magic aid of that immaculate man, who, although now covered with infamy by blind unthinking people, although the raſhneſs of this generation may ſtamp him as the vileſt and baſeſt of mankind, will live to be the idol of futurity, and will go down to the after ages, ſteeled in immortality—I mean Jack Robinſon:

---BY him the ruſtineſs of the commons was ſo refined, their paſſions ſo purged, their pride ſo tamed, the conqueſts of the *faction* grew ſo fruitleſs, and all their glories ſo faded, that in the ſhort ſpace of two months this majority that would ſcale Heaven, was ſo pared down, that the tottering fabrick of this deſtructive Conſtitution was upheld only by the ſolitary vote of an *individual*, and he was not an Atlas.---The generous John Elewes*.

DURING this ſtruggle no part of the ordinary buſineſs of the nation was tranſacted. The Commons ſat only to waſte their animal ſpirits in voting cenſures upon the miniſtry. The Lords ſat only to vote the Commons a parcel of ſcoundrels. Vanquiſhed in

*MR. ELEWES ſometimes voted with the Miniſtry and ſometimes againſt them. His Judgment happened to vibrate with the oppoſition when the famous repreſentation of the commons was carried by a majority of *one*.

their own victories, the *faction* at length called upon the King's friends to bring forward the King's buſineſs, and pledged themſelves not to oppoſe it. The majority being thus reduced, the firſt thing looked for was a motion to reſcind the reſolutions that condemned the Adminiſtration.---For even *then* the exiſtence of the Votes of cenſure and of the miniſtry was deemed incompatible, ſuch is the force of conſtitutional idolatry!

HERE I feel my incapacity to do juſtice to the King's friends. This fatal contaminating conſtitution had much to plead in its behalf. Its age—our ſucceſs—our national renown under it—habits of attachment that grew into enthuſiaſm—Theſe made its demolition a ſtupendous undertaking. The hazard of the attempt—the infamy, the ruin of its miſcarriage, naturally induced ſuſpicions of the ſerioufneſs of Miniſtry. But their conduct in this great criſis diſpelled all doubt, and they ſtood confeſſed the choſen few, deſtined by Providence to redeem this nation from its preſent pernicious Government—the mighty magicians that were to burſt that enchantment, which kept our forefathers chained in the bondages of civil liberty!!

To reſcind the reſolutions—no—that were to reſtore things to their ancient level and to re-eſtabliſh that damnable doctrine that the the opinion of the Commons could in any degree affect the miniſtry. That indeed were

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a direct controverſion of this auſpicious project and plunging us back into all the horrors of the conſtitutional ſyſtem again. The Miniſter's majority in the new houſe is near 200, and to crown the degradation of the democratic branch, the reſolutions ſtill ſtand upon their journals, in ſtatu quo, a ſtaring image of their own diſgrace and a ſplendid monument to the admiring world of the rapid progreſs of human reaſon and the ſignal victories it has acquired in ſo ſhort a time in theſe Iſlands, over that mountain of prejudice and bigotry which grew out of the very texture of the Engliſh conſtitution!!

As if *apprehenſive* that the Commons might obliterate this living ſymbol of their ſhame, the King's friends took the moſt moſt infallible method to prevent it. After the houſe declared a determination to forward the public buſineſs the wiſdom was evident of dropping all buſineſs of every kind, and when the contempt of the Commons was recorded and eſtabliſhed, the natural fate of ſuch an aſſembly befel them. They were ſent packing like a ſet of reprobates round that country, "from whoſe bourne ſo few of "them returned,"—They were diſſolved.

I AM prepared to meet all the objections of the Whigs, to the diſſolution (apologizing to the reader at the ſame time for deſcending to notice the ſnarling of that vile *faction.*)

IN the firſt place, they ſay it was wicked to

diſſolve the Parliament, becauſe the King ſolemnly pledged himſelf not to diſſolve it. The very nature of this objection is the ſtrongeſt juſtification of the meaſure. That his Majeſty pledged himſelf from his throne *againſt* it, is ſurely the beſt of all reaſons *for* it. Even a King of France, adds the *faction*, ſo committed to the moſt paltry Parliament in any of his Provinces, would ſooner have died than ſully his honour by ſuch a breach of faith. Perhaps he might, and in that very view, the diſſolution has tenfold merit. Imitation without improvement is deſpicable, and in the effort to give his ſubjects thoſe bleſſings which our neighbours derive from their ſovereigns, it is ſurely much to his Majeſty's glory to have diſcovered new capabilities in royalty. That no other King dare venture ſuch a deed, is, without queſtion, its brighteſt eulogy!

The ſecond objection is "that an angry "diſſolution has no precedent ſince the time "of the Stewarts, that it was in fact againſt "the *ſpirit* of the Conſtitution. If the pre-"rogative of diſſolving Parliaments, ap-"pointing Miniſters, creating Nobles, &c. "was to be exerted at the mere *caprice* and "*pleaſure* of the Prince, our anceſtors "would never have lodged in the chief "Magiſtrate ſo monſtrous an authority." What our anceſtors would *not* have done, I know not, but I know what they *have* done. *They have lodged this power in the King*—By the

the law he has as defined a right to appoint any Miniſter or diſſolve any Parliament as you or I to hire or diſcharge a footman. Which of us in private life would not deem it rank inſolence, if any perſon ſhould ſay, you ought to have Paul and Peter for your Cook and Butler, becauſe *we* think they are good ſervants. The King's prerogative is perfectly clear and diſtinct. What has he to do with the *ſpirit*, when the *letter* of the law is as plain as day-light? Has he the power?—Why is it given him?—"Why place a barren Sceptre in his hand?"

THAT an angry diſſolution has no precedent ſince the revolution proves nothing but a want of ſpirit in the Princes. The ſovereign's uniform acceſſion to the wiſh of Parliament has been our bane. We had elſe long ſince been happy, and the labour of expoſing the deformities of this Conſtitution had otherwiſe never reſted upon me; for the whole of the vile fabric had been humbled with the earth before I was born. Further, ſays the *faction*, "the Empire has flouriſhed in commerce, dominion and national glory, much beyond any other period of our annals, ſince this underſtanding has prevailed between our Princes and Parliament"—Worſe and worſe. It is not the intereſt of any wiſe Government, that its ſubjects ſhould be very rich. Wealth begets wantonneſs, and the judicious examples of other kingdoms de-

monſtrate the neceſſity of occaſional wars, famines and leſſer ſcourges, to ſtabilitate the Government and to preſerve the people in that due tone of obedience which is the certain ſource of *their own content.*

So much for the clamours of the *faction*—now for the *real motives* of the diſſolution. Little minds form low judgments, and narrowing the late diſſolution to the meaſure of ſuch mean ends is very characteriſtic of the groveling capacity of the Whigs; but we are not to credit a ſlander which imputes to the Miniſtry, ſuch a ſuſpicious moderation. A parliament enlightened into a liberal conviction of the neceſſity of ſupporting the King's friends in all they ſhould propoſe was requiſite beyond queſtion, to complete this great affair. Yet was *this*, I am perſuaded, the very ſmalleſt motive to it. The uniform aim of the King's friends, is to open the eyes of mankind to the folly and fallacy of this Conſtitution.

THERE is a ſet of men in this country, who maintain, that the ſenſe of the people can *only* be known in the Houſe of Commons: to thoſe the diſſolution gave a poſitive contradiction, for their ſenſe *before* and *after* this event, differs as widely as light from darkneſs. Another claſs there is, who contend, that the ſenſe of the people never *is* nor ever *can* in its preſent ſhape be collected in that Houſe. His Majeſty overturned this doc-

trine

trine too, for he proclaimed his joy at the appeal he had made to the ſenſe of his people; and for the firſt time of his reign, confeſſed that his people ſpoke very good ſenſe.

UNTIL the wicked principles of this Conſtitution are as palpable as day light; —until its numberleſs impoſtures are ſeen and confeſſed—until the nation thoroughly underſtands the vicious ground on which Parliaments ſtand; the annihilation of our Parliamentary ſyſtem will not be endured; ſhort of which we can never be a happy nation. The diſſolution went a great way to the attainment of theſe bleſſings.

NONE of our civil quackeries is more prevalent than an overſtrained affectation of *purity* in all the departments of our ſyſtem; ſteeped up to the chin though we are at the ſame time in all the vileneſs of groſs corruption. It is a breach of privilege even to *ſuppoſe* that any man ſits in Parliament by foul means—and to believe that five out of ſeven get there by fair means would be conſummate idiotiſm.* I am not diſputing the benefits of bribery, (its bleſſings, thank God,

* THIS Parliamentary baſhfulneſs reminds me of Henry the Eighth. In a day or two after that good Prince beheaded Anne Bulleyne, he began to think ſhe was innocent; and ſoon after paſſed a law, making it death to *ſuſpect* the Queen's virtue. After the diſcovery of Catherine Howard's irregularities he paſſed a law, making it death to *conceal* the Queen's levities —without repealing one word of the former law. At the ſame time

are ſacred and ſecure) my wiſh, in an humble purſuit of the example of the Miniſtry, is to diſplay the knavery of the Conſtitution.

It is meet to bribe the people into a proper choice of repreſentatives for they could otherwiſe never ſelect fit Members. Government is the moſt capable of guiding the electors in ſuch a ſeaſon of doubt, and its good effects are manifeſt from this fact, that in the ſpace of a century no Miniſter has been in a minority in a *new* Parliament. Every general Election is ſuppoſed to coſt Government a couple of millions, and no man denies the neceſſity of this under our preſent Conſtitution—but it is a miſchievous Conſtitution that impoſes ſo deſperate a neceſſity. And I am ſatisfied, that in forcing upon the public the vaſt expences of the late diſſolution,---under that immediate preſſure of exigencies,---the vaſt load of debt, funded and unfunded,---the

time he paſſed another law, making it high treaſon for any woman to marry the King who was not *a virgin*. The King conceited himſelf ſkilful in theſe diſtinctions but was ſometimes miſtaken, as I am told a wiſe man might be. The two firſt laws left his ſubjects in a ſtrange difficulty and the laſt reduced his wives to a fate ſeemingly harder (conſidering that the proof could only be a matter of opinion to all but the Lady herſelf) Still it is a queſtion, which fared worſt, his male or female ſubjects. Henry had no trial by jury, for that great Prince had a good idea of things in general. He erected a tribunal of Lords, Biſhops and Judges, and his trials never failed as the reader will recollect. He could hang a ſubject as Nero did, becauſe his looks diſpleaſed him. For no better reaſon perhaps, he quieted ſo many of his Queens. A refuſal of marriage was infamy and compliance was ſomething more than *a chance* of death. Utrum horum mavis accipe.

diminution

diminution of revenue,---the contraction of reſources,---the decline of credit,---the fall of ſtock, --and a national bankruptcy ſtaring us in the face, the King's friends by that ingenious expedient, meant to beget in the people a hatred of our civil ſyſtem and to prepare them to bear its ſpeedy downfal without a ſigh.

A THOUSAND advantages of a leſſer ſize, call for angry diſſolutions of Parliament. Election conteſts would beggar the factions that oppoſe the government. Expences would diſcourage, and defeats diſhearten them. Even their victories would prove fatal. Succeſs would animate them to frequent conflicts. A ſeries of ſtruggles would exhauſt them by degrees, until convinced of their diſparity for ſuch a warfare, they would abandon the field in deſpair, and leave the King's friends peace and leiſure to mould a fit form of Government for this country, at their own diſcretion.

DISSOLUTIONS would encreaſe their power---Tumults always invigorate the arm of Government and in ſuch ſeaſons a Miniſter can beſt diſplay his capacity. He can raiſe a riot with the King's money, and quell it with the King's army. Sober men would be ſhocked at the licence of elections and perhaps ſubmit to ſervitude, to be ſecured from outrage. Good men, or men ſo called, would be diſguſted with the profligacy of new

Parliaments,

Parliaments, (whoſe devotion to the current Miniſter is infallible) and by a frequent evidence of their turpitude, may wiſh the final downfal of ſuch a certain ſource of vileneſs. Men of the world oppreſſed by that encreaſe of taxes, conſequent upon ſuch events, and prevented the fair produce of their avocations by confuſion and diſorder, would adopt any alternative in preference to ſuch an evil.---Thus from the mixed effect of the indolence, the honeſty, and the avarice of mankind; repeated diſſolutions (timed to ſeaſons of diſtreſs and diſtraction) might bring the nation into ſuch a humour, that in ſome lucky hour the whole fabrick of the Conſtitution may be eraſed to the ground.

If the Commons at any future time ſhould reſiſt the King's favorites, a hint of a diſſolution is an admirable key to keep them in time. The certainty of expence, the uncertainty of ſucceſs upon a freſh election, will powerfully incline them to compliance; but if *determined* to oppoſe, the courſe is obvious—Raiſe an army of petitioners and then diſſolve the Parliament. Every government can procure favourable addreſſes at any time with the utmoſt facility. Richard Cromwell received juſt ninety addreſſes as the rightful heir of the empire,—about ſix weeks before he ſhrunk into nothing; and moſt of the towns, counties, and corpora-

corporations in the kingdom, plighted their loyalty, with their lives and fortunes, to James the Second---a few months before they baniſhed him.

But what if the people ſhould decry a future Houſe of Commons for ſervility to the Court, as they did the laſt for reſiſtance? Then the reigning Prince has only to look to the conduct of George the Third, and he will furniſh him with a mountain of precedents—"He cannot liſten to their peti-"tions, whilſt his faithful Commons think "otherwiſe!" The full tide of twenty-three years practice will tell him, that the People of England, *out* of the Houſe of Commons, deſerve juſt as much notice from the Crown, as the people of Liliput—oppoſed by nothing but the miraculous inſtance of 1784.

In ſhort, ſo admirably does the late diſſolution operate, that the King's friends can whenever they pleaſe, ſeparate that body which the Conſtitution pretends to be inſeparable, and at any time ſo play the *parliament* and *people* againſt each other, that if the Lower Houſe ſhould not be happily demoliſhed in toto, it is reduced to a pitch of debility and diſgrace that fortunately renders it nearly tantamount to annihilation—and ſo auſpicious is the promiſe from this brave example, that the Miniſtry can, even under our preſent form of government, bleſs us with all the benefits which neighbouring

nations

nations enjoy from the lucky extinction of freedom and the judicious ſurrender of theſe obnoxious liberties into the hands of their Sovereigns, which are the ſource of endleſs calamities to this devoted iſland.

So much for the acceſſion of the preſent Miniſtry to power and the meaſures that ſucceeded it—the diſſolution and the motives to it.

HOT MEN, with eager fancies, imagine that the whole of this iniquitous parliamentary ſyſtem might have been deſtroyed in the late ferment of the public had the King's friends been as bold as their numberleſs advantages in the ſtruggle would have born them out in. That the very name of Parliament was blotted from our remembrance, is the cordial wiſh of my heart; but I am convinced that any other courſe than the courſe adopted by the King's friends, had been to riſk this great ſcheme by a raſh and over-vaulting zeal.

THE wiſdom is infinite of making the impoſing ceremonies of this ſyſtem the very inſtruments of its overthrow. Parliament alone can deſtroy itſelf and through that channel only can we expect the accompliſhment of this mighty undertaking. The final ruin of ſo cumbrous a ſyſtem cannot be effected at once. The work muſt be done gradually to inſure ſucceſs. And the reader will find

find that the Kings friends purſued the object with ſkill and ſpirit and deciſion.

The Engliſh Conſtitution has veſted in the people three peculiar and marked rights, upon which they have valued themſelves more than by all their other civil poſſeſſions. Thoſe rights are: *the Liberty of the Preſs—the Trial by Jury—the Right of Repreſentation.* From the cradle to the grave we are plagued with the praiſes of theſe curſes of our ſyſtem. Pride, folly, and madneſs have, upon many occaſions, forced the people to declare they would ſooner periſh than part with either of them: nor is it ſurpriſing, for they are the three main hinges on which the machine of the Conſtitution depends. Had the King's friends, replete with all the authorities requiſite for the attempt, and in the full plenitude of power, left theſe rights untouched, I ſhould be the firſt to declare them as blind to the vices of this Conſtitution, as inſenſible to the bleſſings of a ſimple Monarchy, as their predeceſſors in office. But they have bravely vindicated themſelves from all ſuſpicion.

A lion preys not upon carcaſes: ſcorning the conqueſt of only *one* of them and ſenſible how dangerous is the eſcape of an accomplice, who might recruit and revenge the fall of a confederate, the King's friends in the ſhort ſpace of ſix weeks gallantly attacked this entire phalanx of privileges.

The

THE liberty of the preſs is a grievance of the firſt magnitude. Unleſs it be wholly aboliſhed, unleſs the wittol advocates for the Engliſh Conſtitution, are deterred from oppoſing the Miniſtry by the multitude and ſeverity of penal examples; all hopes of ſucceſs to the GREAT CAUSE are utterly deluſive. Aware of its influence, the Adminiſtration made the boldeſt effort for its complete overthrow that can be found in the records of legiſlation.

THINGS were not quite mature for attacking the preſs in England, where people are ſtill under ſome infatuations in favor of it, the puſh was made in Ireland, where the enterprize was ſingularly favoured by a concurrence of circumſtances. One of the principal Miniſters, Mr. John Foſter, (a Gentleman whoſe frame of mind and tenor of principles prove, that he has right notions of the true kind of government)---brought a bill into the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, ſo remarkably well adapted to the exigency, that if paſſed into a law as the Miniſtry ſketched it out, the Iriſh, and by this time perhaps the Engliſh, would have all the benefits of the French government regarding the preſs, where a ballad cannot be publiſhed without the King's permiſſion.

To facilitate its progreſs, effectual care was taken that the moſt inflammatory and odious libels ſhould appear every day in the

ſtreets

ſtreets of Dublin, and they were circulated through the kingdom at no ſmall expence. The ſubſtance of one of the clauſes will ſhew that the bill was ample and comprehenſive.

Every Juſtice of the Peace throughout the kingdom, ſhall be impowered to take up and commit to Bridewell for ſix months, any perſon who ſhould be found ſelling, diſperſing, circulating, or publiſhing any advertiſement, paragraph, newſpaper, book, pamphlet, or publication, which he the Juſtice ſhould deem a libel. But alas, this excellent clauſe was thrown out by the Committee. *Telum imbelle ſine ictu conjecit.* Our deareſt gratitude however is due to the Miniſtry, for "what men dare, they dared;" all their *influence* in the ſiſter kingdom appeared in the ſupporters of this bill and all their *ingenuity* in the title of it. What do you think they called it?—"*A Bill to ſecure the Liberty of the Preſs.*" Nations are like children and will ſwallow poiſon if gilded with a good name. The freedom of the preſs might be truly called the *neck* of the Conſtitution, without which it cannot breathe, and in this great experiment, the Miniſtry meant to execute the famous theory of Caligula, who wiſhed the Roman people had but one neck, that he might cut them off with a *ſingle blow*. Had this bill paſſed in its original ſtate, I leave the reader to judge, whether the Conſtitution was not as effectually *cut off* as the Roman

Roman people would have been, had their Emperor's pious wiſh been realized.

THE *ſecond* of theſe rights was attacked here among ourſelves, under the ſame gloſs and colour. The Iriſh Chancellor of the Exchequer attempts the ſubverſion of the liberty of the preſs, under the banner of "*a Bill to ſecure it.*"—The Engliſh Chancellor of the Exchequer atchieves the overthrow of the *trial by Jury*, and at the ſame moment extols the trial by jury to the ſkies. This ſecond right the reader muſt know, has been held ſo ſacred and precious by our abſurd anceſtors, that it has been the firſt privilege they demanded of their Kings after the various changes of our government in the early ages of our hiſtory. The religion of the people impreſſed not a warmer love of the Deity, than their civil code taught reverence for this very right. Yet ſuch is the progreſs of improvement upon our minds, ſo rapidly are our bigotries vaniſhing, ſo quick are the ſtrides of conviction upon our underſtanding, and ſo generally enlightened are we become, that this trial by Jury has been given up (bating ſome factious oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons) with as little concern and as profound an indifference by the body of the public, as if it had been an incloſure bill.

BUT

BUT were juries annihilated in the trial of offences committed in England?—No!—It only related to our poſſeſſions in India, where more crimes are perpetrated in ſeven days, than in the reſt of the Empire in ſeven years.

THE third is the *right of repreſentation.*

THE *very firſt* proceeding of the new parliament proves, that the people really have no ſuch right, and promotes THE CAUSE as deciſively as if the cuſtom of calling parliaments was laid aſide altogether. The Weſtminſter ſcrutiny (the proceeding to which I allude) is pregnant with a thouſand advantages. The King calls a Houſe of Commons for the diſpatch of urgent concerns upon a fixed day. To diſpatch theſe concerns they muſt *meet.* Now meet they cannot, for the returning officer will not ſuffer them. Why?—Becauſe he cannot tell which is the greater number, *two* or *one.* What then is to become of the *urgent concerns?*—No matter. This determination you obſerve, as to law and principle, is tantamount to the poſitive denial of this *right of repreſentation.* But the great virtue of the deciſion conſiſts in its overturning doctrines by wholeſale, which have been reverenced for ages in this wicked conſtitution. It proves that the people may be bound by laws *not of their own making:* That they muſt pay taxes to which *they did not conſent.* It makes election a farce, and a popular choice the means of having no choice

at all. The King's friends went far to ſerve us in the Middleſex caſe, but the obſtacle is prodigious if the *return of members be once made.* Wilkes's character was the chief incitement to that feat, but we loſt the uſe of the precedent, for the univerſe could not produce Wilkes's match. The *manner* of the thing was vile, but here it was admirable.—The *candidate of the court* has only to tell the *officer of the court*, that his adverſary had bad votes, and the whole is done at once. *This is the law of England*, and the principle is univerſal in its operation, whether the caſe be Weſtminſter or Weſt Loo.

But, ſay the enemy,—"This deciſion is "a direct violation of law, conſtitution, juſ"tice, equity, reaſon, and common ſenſe— "it is a direct breach of the ſtatute of Ed"ward III. Henry VI. William III. and in "all the law books, records of parliaments, "reports, caſes, compilations; in ſhort from "the foundation of our hiſtory, *not one pre*"*cedent* can be found for this baſe deciſion." To all this I anſwer, ſo much the better. Scruples about laws and muſty precedents would little become the King's friends, lifted to the pinnacle of authority.* That would have been as if Oliver Cromwell had not cut off the King's head, after ſweating at every pore to have the power of doing it.

* The ſame rapid and deciſive ſpirit was ſhewn upon the Bedfordſhire queſtion.

OTHER motives are attributed to this deciſion. The excluſion of Fox from Weſtminſter, and a zeal to oppreſs him, are ſaid to be the chief inducements. Private rancour and perſonal revenge are undoubtedly very laudable incitements to a public meaſure, and admitting that the King's friends had not deſigns more dignified, and aims more enlarged —granting for argument, that the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny was not meant as an inſtrument of our deliverance from this pernicious conſtitution, I am convinced that even thoſe vulgar views which are imputed to the miniſtry carry with them an unanſwerable vindication.

IT has been the very extremity of inſolence in Fox to ſit for Weſtminſter, in defiance of the King's friends! the firſt city of the kingdom! the ſeat of empire! the fountain of authority! in the heart of which, his majeſty expends about a million a year! Theſe conſiderations are ſerious; but the ſucceſs of this daring man was of a tenfold mortification in the late conteſt.—It falſified the aſſertions of his unpopularity, when every quill that worked for the miniſtry, was died in gall to blacken him. The miſchief was greater ſtill, for this inference followed—that where *he* and *his enemies* were *beſt known*, the balance of public claim was as much in *his* favour, as it was in *their favor* where *each were perſonally ſtrangers* and where a line of unadulterated fact ſcarce ever reaches. The

current opinion of miniſterial impoſture and public inſanity, were greatly ſtrengthened by it without diſpute.

But there is another light in which this ſcrutiny is compleatly juſtified. Impatience under defeat is natural, and the genius of human nature kicks againſt a rival's ſuperiority in any thing. Great men, they ſay, are moved by great events—boys by trifles. Not content with having a majority upon the Weſtminſter election, Fox *would have a triumph*, in the manner of which, the impudence of the *faction* exceeded all decency. As if their only aim was to ſatirize the miniſter's viſit to the city, the whole proceſſion ſeemed an inſult and perſonal mortification to him, and by their own picture, (which I ſhall give the reader) the reſentment of the court will appear wiſe and proper.

"Whatever this country contains of high nobility, ancient blood, rank, reputation and fortune,—whatever it boaſts of ſplendid inheritance, titles that dignify, becauſe they were deſerved, and virtue unqueſtioned from a variety of trials.—Whatever has elevated, and ſtill retains us in characters of reſpect, diſtinction, and fame with other nations.—All that ſhine moſt eminent and reflect glory and grace upon their country, in arts, arms, ſcience, learning, ability.—The great, who are truly ſo becauſe they are good, the little, who are reſpectable becauſe they are independent.—Men in humble walks, who

who aſſert the native dignity of Engliſhmen' by an unbought adherence to the object of their choice—men in high ſtations, whoſe conduct inſpires, whoſe manners cheriſh that ſentiment, and whoſe cordial intercourſe with thoſe placed by fortune far below them, encourage and fortify that ſyſtem of principles which impart an equal bleſſing to the peer and the peaſant.—The nobleſt names in Engliſh hiſtory, Howards, Cavendiſh's, Bentincks, Spencers, Stanleys, Fitzwilliams, &c. thoſe whoſe anceſtors laviſhed their blood and property in defending this country from foreign enemies, and native traitors, who under various ſtruggles, from various cauſes, reſcued the nation from oceans of perils, into opulence, ſecurity, and renown.—Even they who depend for their ſtations upon the ſovereign's will (the officers of his own guards, as if their maſter's livery bluſhed ſomething hoſtile to the firſt duties of an Engliſhman) changed their ſtandard upon this day, and ſunk the ſoldier in the citizen *at all its hazards*. Thus conſtituted was this proceſſion, and ſuch are the men who boaſted loyalty to ſuch a leader.

" And if yet higher the proud liſt ſhould end."—

If any thing was yet wanting to compleat its ſplendor—The firſt ſubject of the realm fluſhed with joy in ſuch a cauſe, bore his part with eagerneſs, and thought his great

character ſtill more exalted, in fanning that generous flame, that raiſed his own illuſtrious family to the glory of governing ſuch a people."

I HAVE given this picture as the faction paint it. Heightened it is without doubt, but ſtill the ſubject was a reaſonable ground of noble and juſt jealouſy in our matchleſs miniſter, whoſe notable cavalcade to Grocers-hall, becomes, upon review of both, the meereſt burleſque that ever damped the pride of young ambition. The ſcene, the circumſtance, the champions render a compariſon inevitable. Alas!—our couſins of *Buckingham* and *Mahon*.---*Sidney* the ſapient and candid *Camelford!* * *a city job* with John Wilkes! and a choſen troop of active infantry (to illume the darkened domes of ſenſeleſs Weſtminſter at night) who ſcoured the ſhops at their return, as nimble as Falſtaff's battalion ſcoured the hedges in his memorable march to Coventry!

EVEN *this* view of things juſtifies the ſcrutiny—all my dread is, that its iſſue will not anſwer. The choice of the bailiff's *council* was a fatal miſtake. Is a man bigotted to truth from principle, to rectitude from ſentiment, to genius from ſympathy,—diſqualified by acute feelings, with as ſharp a ſenſe of honor, and a conſcience of his own as

* THESE compriſed the retinue of Mr. Pitt to Grocers-hall.

as clear and unblemiſhed, as if he had never opened his lips to the keeper of the King's conſcience, or had never guided the conſcience of the King's High Bailiff---fit for *ſuch a buſineſs*?---FRANCIS HARGRAVE the director of *Mr. Thomas Corbett!* This I fear was an irreparable ſlip.*

No people ever reached the bleſſings of ſlavery without their own co-operation. In a complex form, like ours, this GREAT CAUSE cannot be promoted without a confederacy of perſons high in the people's eſteem. The favorite faction in this country has generally been the Whig faction. To theſe, the King's friends have occaſionally dealt out the public adminiſtration, but always managed their duration in office with ſo nice an œconomy, that in the twenty-five years of this proſperous reign, the *longeſt* Whig adminiſtration has barely exceeded *one year*, though they were four times employed. The King found the government in their hands upon his acceſſion---but he ſoon diſmiſſed their chief (Lord Chatham) and the reſt followed him. The next was Lord Rockingham (begun in July 1765 ended in July 1766) The third in 1782 (commenced in March, periſhed in July.) The

* THE agents of the miniſtry have lately made a moſt bold and frontleſs puſh to get rid of Mr. Hargrave, and they will certainly ſucceed.

laſt in 1783 (born in April, died in December.) From all theſe exploſions the King's friends gathered up *ſome* fragments which ſtrengthened their own building---But all their former acquirements are nothing compared with the diamonds they picked up in the laſt of theſe wrecks. Lord North's coaliſtion with Mr. Fox *had infallibly ſunk this iſland in the ocean*, if the grace of Heaven had not ſent *Pitt* to ſave us! A mortal Meſſiah! the miſſionary of Providence! the light of lights! the ſun of ſuns! the fountain of lumination! the choſen gift of God!---Not the Maid of Orleans to the French, not the Maid of Kent to the Engliſh, not Beckett to Bigots, not Mahomet to Ottomans, not Jack of Leyden to Anabaptiſts, not the Regal touch or Papal toe to infidelity and infection, were half ſo holy, half ſo healing, half ſo divine, as William Pitt to this nation!

Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.

In Egypt he had ranked with Seſoſtris, in China with Confucius. Hecatombs had bled for him in Greece, and temples ſprung up for him in Rome. Socrates had no wiſdom, Seneca no morals, Cicero no eloquence, Cæſar no ſpirit, Sinon no cunning, Achilles no ſtrength, Ulyſſes no craft, compared to him. Modern miniſters melted before him, like ſhadows before the ſun. The genius of Fox, the judgment of Vergennes, the experience

rience of Kaunitz, ſhrunk beſide his matchleſs merit. All that Europe boaſts, except himſelf, were dupes and drivellers. The ſimplicity of the ancient, the refinement of the modern world---the capacity of elder, the ingenuity of latter times---the amiableneſs of the golden, the burniſh of the brazen, the apathy of the iron age, all centered in his ſweet perſon. He was not only faultleſs in his conduct, but without a faulty particle in his nature.---Not only inimitable, but infallible. He had not *all* the qualities of the Trinity, but he fell little ſhort of them.—He was a boy with an angel's faculties and a man with the attributes of a divinity. He was liſtened to like an oracle. All other doctrines were apocryphal, and his were holy writ. His opinion was law, his nod judgment, his word fate.---In ſhort, if Charles Jenkinſon had ſat at the right hand of Jove, with the full command of both his urns, not a change would he have made in William Pitt, or in the Engliſh nation---

I NEED not tell the reader the value of ſuch an ally to the King's friends, and to do them juſtice, they made the moſt of him. If in the compaſs of the one year he be not worn threadbare, it is a miracle. As prodigal of his own character as of the conſtitution, he was the firſt in all the breaches of this tottering ſyſtem, and urged his bold career with an intrepid contempt for every conſideration.

But was all this adoration on the youth's own account you would aſk—O no—much for himſelf but more for his father. Pater et filius *patre dignus*; and this is the more remarkable as for the twelve years that preceded his father's death, the nation left him withering in obſcurity, nor ever once enquired why he lay mouldering;

" But ſtill the crowd have kindneſs in reſerve;
" They help'd to *bury* whom they help'd to *ſtarve*."

It is not *our* buſineſs however, who ſee with open eyes the vicious deformities of this conſtitution to ſcrutinize the ſources of our emancipation, provided we are relieved. Whether Pitt's popularity was the effect of ſober reaſon or of inſanity is indifferent to us, if the King's friends have turned it to a proper account.—That they have done ſo, the reader perhaps may think from what he *has* read—what he has *to* read will leave no doubt of it.

MR. PITT's LIFE has been a ſhort one, and previous to his late exaltation, has afforded very little to make a fixed impreſſion. The chief diſtinctions of his political character have been theſe—*that he begun his career as a Whig—that he was an enemy to the influence of the Crown—that he deteſted political corruption—that he was devoted to parliamentary reform.*

A DERE-

A DERELICTION of all his profeſſions and principles upon theſe ſeveral points is urged againſt him by the oppoſition as a *crime*; but in reality it is the eſſence of miniſterial virtue. Tenacities for conſiſtency, delicacy upon the ſcore of principle, the fear of infamy from running counter to the whole tenor of his recorded declarations, had all been fatal obſtacles to the ſucceſs of the GREAT CAUSE. Luckily however there are no ſuch obſtacles, and in ſhewing that his enemy's reproaches are in this inſtance well founded, the reader will underſtand that I am bearing teſtimony to ſome of the nobleſt features in this illuſtrious young man's character, and proving his right to *our* affections and confidence.

THAT he commenced a Whig is doubtleſs. But I leave the reader to judge, whether Sir William Dolben might not juſt as well be accuſed of copying the model of John Hampden, as William Pitt of Whiggiſm at this time.—That he was a profeſſed enemy to the influence of the Crown is doubtleſs likewiſe. Let the *India Bill* aſſert his converſion from that coarſe way of thinking.---

THE third charge ſuppoſes him hoſtile to corruption. If bribery required vindication, my labours ſhould not be wanting to diſplay its merits. The cauſe could proſper in *no degree* unaided by this beſt of powers, and to impute to Mr. Pitt any enmity againſt it, would be juſt as reaſonable as charging *Hill* with wit, or *Rolle* with good manners. The annals

annals of the world cannot ſurpaſs his preſent Majeſty's reign in the boundleſs exerciſe of this firſt of virtues, and yet all its varied and multitudinous atchievements fall ſhort of the *ſingle month of January* 1784. Then it was that the reveries of a great poet became actually realized:

" Hear her black trumpet through the land proclaim,
" That *not to be corrupted* was the ſhame."

It was always the faſhion in *town*. At that time, however, it became the only recommendation in the *country* (as the new elections confirmed) and in working this ſuſceptibility of the ſenate Sir Robert Walpole himſelf was a ſimpleton to this wonderful young man. There was ſuch originality, ſuch ingenuity, ſuch orientality in the manner.—Sources were diſcovered ſo unthought of in all former exigencies—channels of influence ſo myſterious and unſuſpected—ſluices of venality ſo contrary to all imagining---ſuch dexterity of ſeducement! ſuch rare and refined profligacy! ſuch poliſhed proſtitution! In a word it was the ne plus ultra of this admirable ſcience!

The laſt of theſe accuſations relates to the parliamentary reform. Sunk into contempt, as they have been, I hope no event will ever happen by which the commons will dare to aſſume any influence in the ſcale of

of this government. A *meliorated** reform, that is to ſay, a reform which ſhould leave the Houſe of Commons as much at the miniſter's devotion as it is at this moment, nay, if well managed, ſtill more ſubſervient than it is, might be a good bugbear to the people (whoſe aid in their own redemption from this noxious conſtitution is indiſpenſible) and by the help of Mr. Wyvill's letters, which of courſe will aſſure the reformers in the country, that Pitt's ſcheme is the *beſt of all ſchemes*, might produce ſolid benefit to the miniſtry—but the experiment is hazardous after all. The leaſt taſte of reform may encreaſe the public appetite for more, and nothing *can* be ventured that might riſk the reſurrection of the lower houſe.

The firſt and faſteſt impreſſion Mr. Pitt made upon his country has been by the reform of parliament. He figured in it with a moſt bewitching gallantry, and appeared as earneſt in promoting it, as Cæſar in ſuppreſſing Cataline's plot. Twice in two years he has been in power, and all we heard from him touching the reform, during his miniſtry, was taunting thoſe who brought it forward with envy and malice, or pouring ſhowers of invective upon Lord North, *for*

* Mr. Wyvill's notable letter to the Secretary of the Edinrough Committee ſays, that Mr. Pitt will now ſupport a reform *honeſtly* and *boldly*, which by the way does *not* imply that his ſupport of it hitherto has been deceit and knavery. Whether Pitt's aim is to repair his popularity by a *ſerious* hypocriſy, or to terrify his maſters, a few weeks will develope. Either object is worthy of him.

fear

fear his lordſhip ſhould freeze in his long declared oppoſition to that ſcheme. But the moment his miniſtry ceaſed, he relapſed back into the reform fever, and boiled and bubbled for its ſucceſs, with as much ardour and inflammation as Henry Dundas himſelf, who is miraculouſly become a convert to this ſyſtem, and like all converts, *is mad* for his new faith.

But John Bull (an animal of eternal good cheer) is conſoled with the certainty of the miniſter's bringing forward the reform in perſon—He *will* indeed bring it forward, and the love I bear him forces me to beſpeak the public notice to the miniſter-like qualities he will diſplay on the occaſion. He carried the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny, it is true, and it is true that his *dead* majority is 200. *But the reform is a buſineſs upon which men will think for themſelves.* Mr. Wilberforce will be brilliant in praiſe of his honourable friend's *ſincerity*, and another dinner in Downing-ſtreet, may procure another pithy panegyric from

* This requires explanation. Alderman Sawbridge in the month of July, called upon the miniſter to bring forward the reform. The miniſter ſat ſilent—The alderman ſaid, as the miniſter would not bring it forward, *he* would, and gave a week's notice to the houſe of his motion.—When the day came ſeveral profeſſed friends of the reform, and of the miniſter, begged he would poſtpone the motion for a few days, and urged the unfitneſs of that ſeaſon to try the queſtion. The alderman delayed the motion for another week, but contended that the time preſent was of all other the very beſt. 'The reform was 'popular—the parliament was come hot from the people—the 'miniſter was pledged to the meaſure. The Weſtminſter ſcru-'tiny proved that the houſe would go with him any length

when

from Mr. Milnes. * In ſhort, Pitt will *propoſe* it—Pitt's friends will *reject* it—he will get rid of the buſineſs with a moſt technical eclat, and the whole nation *will be convinced*, that the reform is loſt ſimply and certainly, *becauſe he cannot help it*.

So much for *ſpeculation*, now for *fact*. Let us croſs the channel and behold our young miniſter combat this reform in the ſiſter kingdom. I paſs by his anſwer to the chairman of the Belfaſt meeting. A letter which only proves, that in Jeſuitiſm even *Shelburne* was a *Shippen* to him, is beneath notice, when events of the rareſt celebrity call forth our wonder.

That ſpecies of polity which does not ſcruple to cover nations with miſery for the promotion of its own objects, (although reprobated by weak nerved people, as crooked and infamous) is the perfection of a ſtateſman. Not into Machiavel would I look for its vindication, but into the heart of man, and the genius of human nature. Whilſt

* *when he really wiſhed it*: all theſe advantages he was determined not to forego.'---Mr. Milnes (the member for York) in a private converſation with Mr. Sawbridge, applauded his perſeverance, and urged him not to yield again to delay the motion on any terms, for that all the objections to it were farcical. In a few days after, when he made the motion, the friends of the miniſtry again contended, that the time was unſeaſonable, and great was the alderman's ſurpriſe to find *this very Mr. Milnes* moſt clamorous in the ſame opinion. This ſudden change of ſentiment is, however, accounted for when the reader hears, that *Mr. Milnes dined with Mr. Pitt at the Treaſury houſe in Downing-ſtreet, a day or two before the motion was made*.

Lewis IV. was ſlaughtering the proteſtants of France, he paid the proteſtants of Germany for maintaining their faith to the laſt gaſp, in defiance of the Emperor, who was at the ſame time fertilizing his dominions with the blood of *his* proteſtant ſubjects.

WHILST the chambers of the Spaniſh inquiſition were perfuming with the daily incenſe of heretical ſacrifice, Philip's miniſters animated the French heretics with money, and every other means of diſtracting their country, and of goading their Sovereign into the fatal meaſure to him and to themſelves, of revoking the edict of Nantz. In theſe policies there was undoubted virtue! But what is their virtue compared with William Pitt's method of overturning the reform of parliament in Ireland?

THOSE were rival nations, eager and determined on the ruin of each other.

BUT for the governing miniſter to raiſe, or ſtrive to raiſe, an inſurrection among the governed, purely to prevent the ſucceſs of a ſyſtem, which ſyſtem that very miniſter was ſolemnly pledged to promote, conſtitutes an event ſo new in civil ſcience, and forms a political feature ſo ſuper-excellent, that as it ſtands without a parallel in paſt times, it may be fairly ſaid to defie the reach of future imitation.

THAT a civil war did not enſue, diminiſhes in no ſenſe the merit of the miniſtry. All that deſperate ingenuity, and a brave contempt

tempt of conſequences could do, they did. The Iriſh ſurrendered all other diſcontents:—not a heart panted, not a wiſh was uttered for any object *but a reform of parliament*. Great was the diſeaſe, but the remedy was greater. In the effort to ſet religion againſt religion, and by that means to ſet father againſt ſon, brother againſt brother, and friend againſt friend; the miniſtry provoked the revival of the moſt effectual of all animoſities.—That which deſolated Europe for two centuries, and had been at all times moſt fatal to the repoſe of mankind, could not fail to deſtroy the reform, becauſe it muſt *divide the people* *.

TRUST and confidence between large bodies of ſubjects is always injurious to the *power* of government, and independent of ſubverting the reform by it, the policy was admirable of infuſing the ſeeds of ſeparation and diſcord among the Iriſh.

BUT the comprehenſive ſoul of the miniſter graſped ſtill more. "I will conquer *America* in *Germany*," ſaid the Earl of Chatham—I will cut up the *Engliſh reform* in *Ireland!* ſays the Earl of Chatham's ſon †. In the

* See the addreſſes carried in Ireland by the miniſtry and their anſwers, through the Duke of Rutland, where a danger of ſubverting the proteſtant eſtabliſhment is dextrouſly ſtarted *when the moſt cordial union ſubſiſted between all the religions in that kingdom.*

† Whatever be the reader's political complexion, I beſeech, *I implore* him, to read the publiſhed ſpeech of Mr. Pitt's newly

the proſecution of thoſe who called meetings in Ireland, the worthy youth ſtrikes at the foundation of thoſe aſſemblies in England that ſtill keep alive this phrenzy of reform; —aſſemblies that have in times paſt honoured himſelf upon this ſubject, but which, by the way, is a very ſtateſmanlike reaſon for deſpiſing them at preſent.

THE ſkill of man can conceive nothing

made Chief Juſtice of the Iriſh King's-bench, Lord Earlsfort, where he will find theſe precious points affirmed to be the law of the land, not by quirk or ſubtlety, but in home ſpun intelligible terms.—1ſt. "*That the power of the county is the power of the* "*crown.*"—2d. That the Sheriffs calling the people together peacefully and legally, "*is the moſt wanton oppreſſion of the King's ſubjects.*"—3d. "*That a reformation of parliament is, as* "*plain as words can ſpeak, to overturn the religion and conſtitu-* "*tion of their country.*" 4th. That *attachments* are preferable to *trials*, becauſe they are ſummary, becauſe *the whole county is corrupted*, and no *jury ſhould be truſted*— 5th. (which is a moſt holy doctrine, and the eccho of the Britiſh plan in deſtroying the trial by jury) that a trial by jury of ſuch charges would be highly improper, "*becauſe it would be running the hazard of corrupting witneſſes*, and TEMPTING A JURY TO PERJURE THEMSELVES." Here you ſee the foundation of this vaunted trial is ſubverted, root and branch,—for in every human litigation, there is a riſk of perjury.

I know that conſtitutionaliſts may ſay this: If the publiſhed ſpeech of the Iriſh Judge be ſpurious, *the publiſher ſhould loſe his ears*—If it be genuine, the Judge *ſhould loſe his life*. The criminal juſtice of the country is endangered every hour that ſuch a traitor to the conſtitution pollutes the bench; and the people, if they do not impeach him, are madmen, ſlaves, or cowards.—I am of a very different opinion, and it is a ſubſtantial cauſe of delight for *us* to reflect, that though the *Britiſh* bench is barren of *ſuch* characters, the miniſtry have bleſſed the *Iriſh* with a Judge, who comprehends in his own perſon, the nobleſt faculties of a *Treſſilian*, a *Scroggs*, a *Bacon*, and a *Jefferies*.

more

more exquiſite than the policy of government in the affairs of Ireland. Beſide the outrages ſo ſeaſonably perpetrated in that country, they have contrived that the moſt frantic theories ſhould be diſperſed there, which enable them to propagate on this ſide of the water, that the Iriſh mean nothing ſhort of *entire ſeparation*. A cordiality between the two kingdoms had been fatal.—In that caſe nothing *could* prevent the ſucceſs of the reform. The miniſtry have therefore moſt wiſely ſent forth this judicious calumny, to obviate all *fellow feeling*, and their manœuvres are luckily aſſiſted by the moſt drunken ſtupidity on the part of the reformers themſelves, both in Ireland and England.

SOME men will remark, no doubt, that the Iriſh (after caſting away all other complaints and converging the whole of their grievances in *that ſingle* point,) will, if *they relinquiſh the reform*, be the baſeſt and vileſt band of daſtardly cowards that ever rendered a nation infamous.—It may be ſo, but that is no buſineſs of ours. If the miniſter ſubdues the reform *radically* in that kingdom, *our* boundleſs gratitude is due to him.

SINCE WE ARE YET conſtrained to endure the evil of parliamentary legiſlation, the next enquiry is, whether Mr. Pitt has profited of the public idolatry. If he has been a niggard in the uſes of his fortune, and betrayed a

puſilanimous moderation in the limitleſs power his good ſtars conferred upon him, it were undoubtedly criminal; but you will find he ſtands as guiltleſs of this imputation, as Scylla did when he became Dictator, and purified the ſtreets of Rome with the blood of thoſe who made him ſo.

THROUGHOUT the ſeſſions, the miniſter kept his eye ſteadily upon THE CAUSE. Whatever is moſt hoſtile to the principles of this conſtitution, is traced and eſtabliſhed in almoſt every meaſure he has introduced.

OUR ſyſtem of government inculcates good faith, and at the ſame, a due œconomy towards the public creditors. The miniſter ſubverted the firſt in his conduct upon the *Navy bills*, and the ſecond upon the *Ordinance debentures*. Public faith and public œconomy were ſpiritedly abandoned in both tranſactions. The taxes he has impoſed, may, with truth, be called a compendium of *all* that is obnoxious to conſtitutional doctrines.—"Though all the winds of heaven ſhould "enter the ragged cabin of the pooreſt peaſant—the King ſhall not, the King dare "not enter it,"—ſaid the Earl of Chatham, in a ſpeech reprobating *exciſe laws*. The meaneſt knave that cheats the public, to cheat the King, as an exciſe officer, not only *dares*, but *ſhall* enter and ſearch, not merely every houſe, but every crevice of it, if he chooſe,

chooſe, ſays the Earl of Chatham's ſon, in the ſubſtance of a ſpeech *eſtabliſhing* exciſe laws.

THE *game acts* have generally been deemed a ſpecies of *foreſt laws*. Now, Mr. Pitt's game act has *no other* operation than nerving thoſe laws with new energy. As a ſource of revenue it is long given up, but it poſſeſſes this mark of a great capacity, that all the ſkill of the kingdom combined, is unequal to its comprehenſion.—Too ſubtle and ſublime for vulgar underſtandings, the only meaning on the face of it conſiſts in ſtimulating men to perſecute each other, by an unexampled encouragement to informers.

THE *commutation tax* is the burthen of every exclamation from Penzance to the Orkneys, and in that long diſtrict we are told there is but one opinion upon it (except at the Treaſury and in Leadenhall-ſtreet.) I will not combat prejudice, but of this I am ſatisfied, that there is in the commutation tax ſomething better for *us* than the beſt tax ever impoſed by the beſt of men in the beſt of times,—perſuading myſelf that our redemption from this curſed conſtitution, depends chiefly on the duration of the preſent miniſter's power and popularity, and feeling, convinced, that the man who laid *this tax*, and ſtill continues (without much diminution of public or parliamentary influence) to be the finance miniſter of this country, may now with perfect ſafety attempt *any thing*.

THE affair of the *ſix regiments* ſhews ſomething ſo characteriſtic of the miniſtry and ſo auſpicious to *the cauſe*, that I muſt bring it to the reader's recollection.

KINGS love money and territory, but they love the army ſtill better—becauſe an army will never want bread whilſt they wear bayonets, and in any ſtruggle between the Monarch and his ſubjects their arguments are wonderous convincing. The emancipation of kingdoms from liberty to ſervitude has ſeldom been atchieved without them, and hence the love of Princes, and the jealouſy of free States for ſtanding armies. Our ſilly conſtitution is ſo ſcrupulous on this head that we never vote a ſoldier, nor the money that pays him, nor the law that binds him, for more than one year. The *lower* a Miniſter reduced the military, the frowns of the crown, or the favours of the people have in common calculation been *proportionably* dealt to him, and the choice of his patron of courſe depended on his own diſcretion.

THE buſineſs before us will throw a ſtrong light upon the late adminiſtration, and prove their arrogance in daring to preſume that they poſſeſſed one ſpark of the honeſt confidence of George the Third.

THE firſt peace eſtabliſhment of this reign was fixed under Lord Bute in 1763, at 70 regiments, each conſiſting of ten companies.

The

The ſecond was in 1783, under the Duke of Portland, when the regiments were fixed at *ſixty-four*, with only *eight* companies in each. By this laſt eſtabliſhment the whigs would impudently deprive his majeſty of *ſix regiments* together with 140 companies, and deprive the nation the pleaſure of paying for them. Thus ſtood the arrangement when the King, to his eternal honour, diſmiſſed the whigs.

MANY things there are very deſirable to be done, which expedience prohibits. To fix the army upon the plan of Lord Bute in 1763, was an object devoutly to be wiſhed, but it were an attempt of great delicacy. All that the matchleſs youth could ſafely do, he did. Since he could not directly reſtore the old eſtabliſhment, he reviled thoſe who reduced it, and heartily eaſed himſelf of three or four luſty fits of invective againſt the whigs upon the occaſion, loudly queſtioned their ſincerity in leſſening the national expences, and ſo forth.

OF the officers of the regiments reduced by this arrangement many had purchaſed at advanced prices, preſuming that they would not be reduced at the peace. Their caſe was conſidered by the Houſe of Commons a hard one, and the whig Secretaries of State * and of the war department ſaid, they certainly

* MESSRS. Fox and Fitzpatrick.

in-

intended to provide for them. The proviſion was, to *ſecond* them upon the army in general, and allow them full pay until they were promoted; employing them in the mean while upon the recruiting ſervice. Their own regiments were of courſe to be diſbanded. This method was very unpalateable to the King's friends, for two excellent reaſons,—becauſe the *military ſhould not be reduced* on any terms, and becauſe *ſeconding* theſe officers *deprived them of the army patronage*, until theſe officers were provided for.

The Miniſtry conſulted for ſeveral days upon the buſineſs. At length their ſagacious Secretary at War informed the Houſe of Commons, that the officers would be completely ſatisfied if they were allowed full pay for ſix months longer, and he accordingly moved the money. Upon an official declaration that full pay for *ſix months* would *compleatly ſatisfy* thoſe, who expected it *for life* the Houſe had only to wonder. The Houſe did wonder greatly, but not half ſo much as upon hearing in a day or two after, by authority of the officers themſelves, that in the Secretary's *official information, there was not one ſyllable of truth.* Suffice it to tell the reader, that the preſent Miniſtry adopted a courſe the direct reverſe of their predeceſſors. They have *preſerved the army patronage compleat* to themſelves.—Not one of the officers

officers is to be *ſeconded.*—The nation pays for the whole body *(for the ſake of giving full pay to the officers)* and *the ſix entire regiments are ready for any exigency at the call of the King's friends.* Yet there *are* men who affect to wonder at the ſteps which the beſt of Kings has taken to overthrow the whigs!

THOSE WHO THINK as I do of the Engliſh conſtitution (and to thoſe alone I write) muſt ſee the intrinſic excellence of all Mr. Pitt's meaſures in the laſt ſeſſions, but his *manner* enhances his merit conſiderably. Hitherto the preſumption has been, that when a plan is ſolemnly propoſed by a Miniſter of State, it is deliberately conſidered, digeſted with ſkill, and enriched with the various informations acceſſible to government. But in this method there are two leading defects—firſt it muſt be very troubleſome to the miniſter—ſecondly, it is treating Parliament with a reſpect utterly repugnant to the promotion of THE CAUSE.

THESE defects were admirably remedied by Mr. Pitt. Excepting where the conſtitution was aimed at, his meaſures *going out of*, and *coming into*, the Houſe of Commons have not the fainteſt trace of ſimilitude. They *become* radically and ſolidly the reverſe of what they *have been.* But was not all this conceſſion, good humour, facility, accommodation? --- O fie, no. Such diſpoſitions were fatal to us.

HE

He propoſes a ſpecific plan upon a ſpecific day. The genius of man can conceive nothing more perfect, and he is reſolved not to abandon one principle. In debate it appears not quite ſo perfect---it turns out a heap of nonſenſe, and in a few days after he brings it down transformed into a new ſhape. Nothing can equal the *new ſhape:* he cannot be perſuaded to alter a line, and he gallantly taunts its oppoſers for ignorance and abſurdity. A freſh diſcuſſion ſhews freſh deformities. The *ſame* plan comes again a week after perhaps, in *another* form, as diſtant from the ſecond as the ſecond from the firſt. An equal loftineſs and contempt of the enemy accompany the third *entre*, and at length it is carried off the ſtage in all the flaſh of triumph---differing as widely from its original nature, as Pitt the ſon from Pitt the father.

These inſtances of ſuperior capacity occurred I believe upon every *great* occaſion throughout the ſeſſions.

NOTHING HAS YET BEEN SAID of the India Company in the courſe of this pamphlet, for it were indecent to degrade them by blending their affairs with meaner matter. The majeſty of the ſubject oppreſſes me, and I am really at a loſs in what point of view firſt to contemplate them---whether as men

men who, when our empire in Europe was abridging, exterminated whole nations in Aſia, purely to extend our dominions---or as men who, when our military fame had been declining, ſwept off millions of the human race without any other impulſe than the generous wiſh of preſerving ſome balance of our reputation, and proving that Engliſh heroiſm flouriſhed in India beyond the moſt vigorous examples in our hiſtory---or as men who, when we were ſinking into a mediocrity of character, aſſerted our native energy in a ſeries of judicious perſecutions, provident oppreſſions, and the moſt wiſe and well-managed barbarities---or as men who, when we were weakening at home into a conceited reverence of treaties with other nations, nobly redeemed us from ſuch unbecoming ſcruples by a ſpirited and gallant contempt of all ties, agreements, and engagements whatſoever---or as men who, when our government here became languid and paſſive, and ſuffered its ſubjects to remonſtrate, counteract, and expoſtulate upon all occaſions, gaveu s ſpecimens of the true genius of ſound policy by deſolating kingdoms, expelling tributary princes like vagabonds, and ſeizing upon their *all*, for daring to plead the ſanction of covenants and the right of treaties ſolemnly ratified---or as men, who when we were withering into obſcurity and

ſinking

ſinking in the notice we formerly maintained through Europe, made our power ſo intelligible, our character ſo notorious, and our name ſo tremendous, that not an Indian through the unmeaſured wilds of Aſia ever addreſſes his God without mixing *Engliſhmen* in his prayer ---or as men who impoveriſhed whole kingdoms, not for the ſordid ſake of perſonal lucre, but the patriot zeal of enriching their native country---who imported enormous wealth, not for a vicious waſte of it, not to diſguſt us by their prodigality, nor offend by their inſolence, but to improve us by their good manners, their moderation and morality---and who (as the beſt benefit they could render the Engliſh nation) when we were degenerating back into the gloomineſs, the moroſeneſs and barbariſm of the laſt age, gave a fillip to expiring luxury, and dimmed the brilliancy of our nobleſt families by ſuperior ſplendour and magnificence.

In all theſe views the India Company challenge our admiration, but even this maſs of virtues is ſlight in the ſcale of their conduct towards the preſent miniſtry in the late ſtruggle.

Limited to ſpace, and conſtrained by time, I cannot here detail their numberleſs friendſhips,

" What ſeas they traverſed, and what
" fields they fought."

Their

Their influence, their power, their purſe, were devoted to the King's friends. All their diligence, all their ingenuity, all their experience, were exerted. Every other care was caſt aſide. Schemes of conqueſt and depredation were ſuſpended. Their own defence was given up for the defence of the miniſtry. Fraud, rapine, and robbery were left to ſhift for themſelves—even Haſtings was forgot. Every lung was diſtended, every voice clamorous for the matchleſs miniſter. Their orators were hoarſe in his praiſe — their authors periſhing in his panegyric. Language was beggared for him. Epithets and inkſtands run dry, and not a quiet hour did they enjoy until the adminiſtration was out of all danger. In return, the miniſtry were truly grateful, for between them and the Company, nothing occurred through the ſeſſions, but mutual conceſſion and reciprocity of good offices.

Both had but one object, with different views. The Company wiſhed to ſtand upon their old footing, the miniſtry wiſhed to prove the late adminiſtration a ſet of liars, and the late parliament a band of libellers.—Two Committees had, in the courſe of three years, formed a mountain of reports. The amount of them was, that the government of the India Company in Europe, was the moſt prepoſterous and deſpicable that could be imagined, pernicious to the intereſts, and fatal to the

the honour of this nation.—That the government in India was a ſyſtem of uniform diſobedience, and ſtudied contempt of the Company, executed for the ſole purpoſe of enriching the ſervants, which enabled them to ſcoff at their maſters, and defy all the law, juſtice and power of this country,—which riches were derived from barefaced extortion, violence, perfidy, oppreſſion, and cruelty, upon the miſerable natives of that devoted country. This was the ſum of the Reports.—Mr. Pitt's India Bill confirmed the whole of them to be a maſs of impudent calumny, it proved that the government at home was truly a wiſe one, and the ſervants abroad a very honeſt ſet of gentlemen.

The different relief bills went upon the ſame principle. Fox ſaid the Company were in a ſtate of bankruptcy—Pitt adopted the moſt infallible means of falſifying Fox. He gives the Company a boundleſs uſe of their credit (which the nation deprived them of, to prevent a repetition of the South Sea bubble.) He forgives them for one year, the payment of above nine hundred thouſand pounds (without any charge of intereſt.) The Company turned this ſum to their own purpoſes, and the ſinking fund was deficient to that exact amount. To ſupply the ſinking fund, he borrows the entire ſum at 5 ½ per cent. —with a moſt generous gratitude he charges the

the nation *fifty four thouſand pounds a year, for lending the nation's own money to the India Company*, and then paſſes a law to allow them to divide 8 per cent. *(the largeſt dividend they ever made in their moſt proſperous days.)*—Thus backed by the Engliſh nation, it is impoſſible they can become bankrupts, and the falſhood of Fox's aſſertion is of courſe as clear as noon-day.

As to the commutation act it is above all praiſe. Merchants in general are men of the world, and India merchants certainly rank with the very firſt in this excellence. Nothing can be more unmerchantable than crowding a ware-room with an unſaleable commodity, which originally coſt ſomething, not daring to vend it. Under this mortification ſtood the Company, reſpecting what they call *bad tea*, and what the public call *good poiſon*. This article had been, it ſeems, theſe twenty years paſt in that exact plight, to which its re-aſcending muſt reduce a great many of the King's liege ſubjects—it lay concealed from the ſweet face of heaven deep in the cells of the Company's granaries, rending in darkneſs, and waiting for a glorious reſurrection.

THE power of nations is vulgarly ſuppoſed to conſiſt in their population, but miſchiefs have often reſulted to adminiſtrations from *too numerous a body* of ſubjects. Wiſe governments have ſometimes undertaken wars for the expreſs purpoſe of thinning and tempering their domi-

dominions, and ſome good Kings and miniſters have taken means more direct to produce the ſame benefit, as in the caſe of Chriſtian II. and his good Cardinal who diſpatched above four hundred refractory ſubjects in one night at a feaſt. That in paſſing the commutation act, Pitt meant to ſtrengthen his miniſtry, from that epidemic depopulation of the country, which this tea muſt infallibly produce, were an agreeable ſpeculation, I confeſs, but with all my partiality for his genius, I cannot ſuſpect him of ſo profound a motive. Infinite good will undoubtedly reſult from the effect of it upon the health of the people, and all it wants to be the moſt accompliſhed of events is the certainty of being planned upon *ſo* large a ſcale—but I think it was not. Fate that favoured him in all his other tranſactions, perhaps imbued this project with a good he never meant. The higheſt ſtretches of perfection are hit off by accident, and in this celebrated meaſure the Miniſter ſeems to have ſnatched a bleſſing beyond the reach of deſign.

His views were purely confined to the gratification of the Company. They could have never ſold *this* tea unſhielded by *this* act. The duty to the public is taken off, and the expence to individuals not noticeably diminiſhed, for it leaves the price of

their

their own commodity to their own diſcretion. It is conceived upon this ingenious principle, that the leſs a man gets for his goods the more will be his profit upon them. By the *law*, they are to ſell *out*, if one penny be offered for each lot above the Company's eſtimate. By the *fact* they buy *in*, after conſiderable bidding, and then avow their breach of the law. —And after all, what are the objections to this act?—mere declamation—only "That "as a *tax*, it is a grievous oppreſſion— "that as *a commutation* it is an infamous "fraud—that it is unjuſt and cruel, where "poverty prevents, or where conſtitution pro- "hibits the uſe of the article commuted--- "that it is otherwiſe an impudent robbery, "and ſelling the nation for the ſupport of "theſe rapacious men---that, according to "Lord Stormont, it is wrenching his "wretched pittance from the hard hand "of the poor peaſant, merely to ſupply "the prodigality of the India Company," (which objection, by the way, Lord Thurlow completely refuted by affirming that the neceſſaries of life, and *not* the luxuries, were fit objects of taxation)---"That the act "(take it all and all) is the moſt conſum- "mate piece of inſulting knavery ever im- "poſed upon the people of England."--- That the people of England are the only ſufferers by it, in reality purges it of every

crime. Who is the people of England? An undefined animal capable of bearing, and therefore proper to be preſſed with every weight. An aſs that brays a little under his burthen, and is then ſilenced by his own noiſe, into an inſipid tameneſs — goaded by the driver, and ſometimes grunting under his pain, but ſtill waddling onward ſulky and ſpiritleſs.

PROFOUND is the wiſdom of making a nation *feel* it has a government, and abſtracted from this deep policy, the power of the India Company in the Houſe of Commons alone, would juſtify the miniſtry if they had mortgaged the rentall of the whole kingdom for their ſupport. Were this new window tax fifty-fold oppreſſive, the public are gainers by commuting it for the ſingle acceſſion of Major Scott himſelf. A genius who will write a hundred pamphlets in a month, and give them gratis to the public—of ſuch exquiſite merits too that, except the trouble of reading them, no-body ever charged them with a fault, and that evil is ſlight, for his own aſſociates have ſeldom riſked it, after the firſt ſample of his literary proweſs. 'Sleepleſs himſelf to give his readers ſleep.'

THEN have they not the governor, the great Chief himſelf.--"Have they not *Warren*, is not *Haſtings* theirs?" --- We have heard much of what is called the frontleſs inconſiſtency of the preſent adminiſtration in their Indian alliances, eſpecially againſt the incomparable chairman of that ſecret Committee, which

which brought the ruin of India home to Haſtings. Towards Haſtings they affirm, that Dundas has proved the moſt profligate ſycophant---towards the Company, the moſt unprincipled apoſtate that ever defiled the name of manhood. But, in truth, his conduct to both is the tip top of magnanimity, and the peruſal of the forty-ſecond reſolution, which he moved in the Houſe of Commons upon Eaſt India concerns, will prove it.

RESOLVED, "That Warren Haſtings, Eſq. "Governor General in Bengal, and William "Hornby,* Eſq. Preſident of the Council at "Bombay, *having, in ſundry inſtances, acted in "a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of "this nation, and thereby brought great calamities "on India, and enormous expences on the Eaſt "India Company, it is the duty of the Directors "of the ſaid Company, to purſue all legal and ef-"fectual means for the removal of the ſaid Go-"vernor General and Preſident from their ſaid "offices, and to recal them to Great Britain.*"

AND, alas! who can wonder that the merciful mind of Dundas ſhould be illumined into a right ſenſe of that wonder-working man, who has brought the very extremes of the human heart into uniſon, and converted the moſt *ſoft* and the moſt *ſavage* natures in this iſland to the worſhip of his virtues. When Thurlow---but what is Thurlow?—What is the ferocious friendſhip of Thurlow

* Mr. Hornby is in London, for *his* indigence left him powerleſs in the Court of Proprietors. He is very poor, but then he is contented.

to

to the melting devotion of the Queen of England? The glory of the miniſtry is proportioned to the guilt of Haſtings, in which view perhaps ſome men will think their fame incapable of more celebrity. His uſes muſt indeed be great, for his alliance impoſed a weighty tax upon them, and the following ſhort ſketch of his atchievements, under their different heads, is given only to enable the reader to form a right judgment upon the ſingular merits of that virtuous confederacy. The recital is taken from the various details formed out of the records and the authentic papers of the Eaſt India Company, from the public diſpatches of Mr. Haſtings himſelf, and the teſtimony of perſons concerned in the ſame tranſactions. Nothing is invented, and a great deal is ſuppreſſed.---Whatever ſentence the public may paſs upon the events ſtated, the veracity of the ſtatement will not, I preſume, be denied by any perſon of any party.

And FIRST of TREATIES.

Treaty with the *Grand Mogul*---for his numberleſs friendſhips to the Company, a ſolemn ſettlement to pay him 260,000*l.* a year.---Never paid him a ſhilling!

Second Treaty with the *Mogul*---agreed to pay the Soubah of Bengal 400,000*l.*------ Broke this likewiſe.

Third Treaty with the *Mogul*---agreed to pay *Nudjif Cawn* a penſion for ſignal ſervices ac-

acknowledged—Broke the treaty and ſtopped the penſion.

Treaty with the *Nizam*—Broken.

Treaty with *Hyder Ally*—Broken.

Treaty with the *Mahrattas*—In profound peace invaded their country and took Salſette. Peace made and a treaty eſtabliſhed. —The treaty broke ſoon after, and the Mahrattas dominions invaded a ſecond time. The Company's army defeated. Moderate terms offered by the Mahrattas, rejected by *Haſtings*, and vigorous efforts made to carry on the war, when Hyder Ally ruſhed into the Carnatic under a confederacy formed by the moſt diſcordant powers in India for the purpoſe of driving the Engliſh out of it, as enemies of the human ſpecies!

Various Treaties with *Mahratta Chiefs*---made for the ſake of being broken. The obſervance of any two of them would have brought two Britiſh armies to cut each others throats.

Treaty with *Ragonaut Row*---that he ſhould be raiſed to the throne of the Mahrattas, and placed out of the reach of danger from the people, (who mortally hated him) if he aſſiſted in the war.---He aſſiſted in the war, acquired no throne, and was ſurrendered up to the people who mortally hated him.

Treaty with the *Guickwar*---that he ſhould have a ſhare of the conqueſts, and be free from the dominion of the Mahrattas if he aſſiſted in the war.—He aſſiſted in the war, got not a foot of the conqueſts, and was placed under the dominion of the Mahrattas.

Treaty with the *Rana* of *Gohud*---that he ſhould have eleven ſixteenths of our joint conqueſts, and a ſurety of protection, if he aſſiſted in the war---He aſſiſted in the war, did not obtain a mole-hill, but he got a promiſe of protection in the treaty, and at the very moment its ratification was exchanging, his caſtle was beſieged, his territories laid waſte, and his agent prohibited complaining of this perfidy, by being denied admiſſion to Mr. Haſtings.

General Sacrifice of the *Mahratta Chiefs* and *Princes*.---After engaging all that he could of theſe people in the war againſt their own countrymen, they were abandoned to the fury of their enemies by an article in the ſupplemental treaty whereby "the "Company is bound not to afford refuge "to any Chief, Merchant, or other perſon, "flying from the Mahrattas into their "dominion!

STATE of our ALLIES in INDIA.

Ragonaut Row, the *Guickwar*, and the *Rana* of *Gohud*---ruined.

Grand Mogul---in every miſery.

Nabob of *Oude*---in want and ſervitude.

Rajah

Rajah of *Benares*---in baniſhment.
Nabob of *Bengal*—in beggary.
Rajah of *Tanjour*—deſtroyed, and his people periſhing under every diſtreſs.
The *Polygars*---ſtarving or exiled.
Nabob of *Arcott*---under every calamity.

SALES of STATES and PRINCES.

The *Grand Mogul*---ſold to Sujah Dowla.
The *Mogul*'s Territories---ſold to the ſame Sujah for two years purchaſe.
The *whole nation* of the *Rohillas* ſold to the ſame Sujah Dowla, for 400,000*l.* Our army aſſiſted in butchering this people, and laying waſte the whole country with fire and ſword. The wife and children of their Chief, the moſt valiant and accompliſhed man in India, whoſe head was cut off and ſold for a fixed ſum, were reduced to the neceſſity of begging rice in the Engliſh camp to ſupport human nature. The Engliſh commander in this expedition expreſſed ſome horror at ſuch diabolical brutalities as he fooliſhly deemed them. He was very properly reprimanded by the Governor for his officious humanity.*
Serega Dowla—ſold to Mir Jaffier.
Mir Jaffier---in his turn to Mir Coſſim.
Mir Coſſim---back to Mir Jaffier.
Mir Jaffier again---to his eldeſt ſon.

* Major Scott's juſtification of this war is moſt concluſive, for, ſays the Major "Sir Robert Barker declared the Rohillas "were a very treacherous people."

Maborec ull Dowlah---to his own ſtep-mother.
The *Mahrattas*---ſold to Ragobah.
Ragobah---ſold to the Mahrattas.
The *Mahrattas* and *Ragobah*---both offered for ſale to the Rajah of Berar.
Scindia of *Malva*---offered to the ſame.
The *Subah* of the *Decan*---ſold to the Nabob of Arcott.
Hyder Ally---to ditto.
Rajah of *Tanjore*---to ditto.
Twelve Sovereign Princes---to ditto. The Nabob of Arcott was the beſt of all theſe cuſtomers---but even he in his turn was ſold to his own ſon *Amir ul Omrah.*

CONDITION of PLACES *directly* under our DOMINION.

The whole *Kingdom* of *Bengal* was put up to the beſt bidder (as a good means of relieving the country after a famine) and all the Princes, nobility, gentry, freeholders, farmers, manufacturers, eſtabliſhments, lands, tenements and hereditaments, *ſold.* (It is remarkable that after this auction the Banyan of Mr. Haſtings poſſeſſed territories that yielded him a rent of 140,000 *l.* ſterling a year). Such is the excellent diſcipline of this Governor General, that perſons who had formerly paid a quit-rent of 200,000 *l.* a year to the Company, now exiſt upon common charity.

The

The *Carnatic*---ravaged and deſtroyed.
Tanjour---in univerſal deſolation and decay.

CONDITION of PLACES *indirectly* under our DOMINION.

Oude—once paid to the government three millions ſterling annually—not one million three hundred thouſand at preſent. This whole kingdom was confiſcated.

Benares—The Rajah of this province paid his annual tribute 260,000*l.* as ſpecified in his treaty with the Company. Haſtings broke the treaty, and made a new demand upon him (five lacks of rupees.) The Rajah pleaded the treaty, and Haſtings accuſed him of rebellion. An army was marched againſt the Rajah, and he was forced to pay the exaction twice. The exaction was demanded a third time, and the Rajah failed to pay it from poſitive want. Haſtings fined him in 500,000*l.* for the failure, *(over and above the tribute and the exaction)* afterwards ſeized him in his palace, diſgraced him in the eyes of his ſubjects, baniſhed him his own kingdom, and placed another upon his throne *.

Fitzula

* Major Scott defends this meaſure with great ability and effect; for, ſays the major, "Cheyt Singe was not a ſovereign "prince, he was *only a Zemindar*." In the ſame forcible ſtile he

Fitzula Cawn—paid his tribute of 150,000*l.* a year to the Company, according to treaty. Haſtings demands 300,000*l.* a year additional. Fitzula pleaded the treaty, and Haſtings accuſed him of rebellion. Forced to pay 150,000 *l.* *(over and above the ſtipulated tribute)* as a teſt of his loyalty.

It was reported that the father of the Rajah of Benares, left his ſon a million privately; when Haſtings heard the report, he accuſed the Rajah of rebellion.—After the expulſion of this Rajah, it was reported that his mother *Panna* had great treaſures. *Panna* was accuſed, and her caſtle beſieged. She capitulated upon terms of ſafety to her own perſon and her woman, and the capitulation was ſolemnly ratified. Yet the *Pauna* and three hundred women who attended her, were deſpoiled in the night time of all they poſſeſſed. The treaſures of the caſtle, excluſive of the robbery, exceeded 200,000*l.* and Haſtings quarrelled with the Captors concerning the booty.—The mother and grandmother of the Nabob of Oude, were reported to be very wealthy. Haſtings accuſed them

he defends the maſſacre of the Rohillas, for, ſays the Major, "the progenitors of the Rohillas were not natives, they "were a race of Afghan Tartars," and for the proof of this, refers you to Dow's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan. The *Engliſh* in *India* vindicate the extirpation of an entire people, and the ruin of a prince, becauſe the anceſtors of the people were not natives, and the prince was not an hereditary ſovereign!

of

of rebellion, and they were obliged twice to aſſert their allegiance by the ſurrender of their treaſures. Their powers of rebellion conſiſted in an army of two thouſand women, and two ſeraglios of eunuchs.

(ALTHOUGH in the eyes of ſome ſcrupulous puritanical people, Mr. Haſtings may appear ſomewhat erroneous now and then, his capacity is unqueſtionable, and the miniſtry in their patronage of him, without doubt, mean to bleſs us with his abilities in ſome public office at home. His plan of finance would be a fertile ſource of ſuccour in this kingdom, as it is in India. Charges of treaſon now and then againſt the Bedfords, the Devonſhires, the Fitzwilliams, the Marlboroughs, the Norfolks, and other poſſeſſors of great fortunes in enmity to the King's friends, would be an infinite mine of revenue. Between Haſtings's rebellions, and Pitt's commutations, the national debt muſt infallibly be redeemed in a ſhort time.)

VIOLATION of ORDERS.

The DIRECTORS.	HASTINGS.
We do not approve the treaty of Poorunder, but ſtill we are determined to adhere to it ſtrictly.	*Broke this treaty immediately.*

We command you at all events not to involve us in war.

Commenced the Mahratta war directly.

We think Mr. Francis Fowke a very fit perſon to be reſident at Benares.

Recalled him from his reſidence at Benares and ſaid the Company invaded "his prerogative."

We poſitively deſire that you will reſtore Mr. Fowke to his ſtation.

Your Empire ſhould ſink into the ocean firſt.

In our opinion Mr. John Briſtow is a fit perſon to be reſident at Lucknow.

Recalled him from Lucknow directly.

Upon conſideration we acquieſce in the recall of Mr. Briſtow from Lucknow.

Nay then, he ſhall go back to Lucknow; and back he ſent him.

We are of opinion that you have treated Cheyt Singe with cruelty, injuſtice, and impolicy, and ſtrictly charge you to reſtore him to his throne and kingdom.

If he comes within my reach I'll ſtrangle the raſcal.

We deſire that you will advertiſe all contracts, that you will give preference to the loweſt bidder, and that

Advertiſes no contract; rejects the loweſt offers, gives preference *to his own friends, and fixes the duration of*

each contract ſhall be of only one year's duration.

When the preſent Nabob of Bengal ſucceeded his father, he was a minor. The Directors thus order their ſervant: "We deſire that you "will appoint a Mi-"niſter to tranſact "the affairs of the "government, and to "ſelect for that pur-"poſe ſome perſon "well qualified for "the affairs of govern-"ment, to be Miniſter "of the government, "and guardian of the "Nabob's minority."

each, at five years *inſtead of* one.

Appointed Munny Begum, *a woman who had formerly belonged to a company of dancing girls, and whom the late Nabob took a liking to, and after ſome cohabitation married. By the Eaſtern cuſtoms, this woman was ſhut up in the ſeraglio from the eyes and the intercourſe of ſociety—yet ſhe was ſolemnly inveſted with all the functions of government, and made guardian of the young Nabob. His* own mother *was then alive in the ſeraglio, but Haſtings choſe his* ſtep-mother "*as a perſon well* "*qualified for the af-*"*fairs of government* "*for the office of a Mi-*"*niſter, and for the guar-*"*dianſhip of a Prince.*"*

MONEY.

* A minute of General Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis upon this buſineſs, concludes in theſe words—

"*We*

MONEY.

BEFORE we examine the clandeſtine receipt of money, it is right to obſerve the terms of the Act of Parliament upon that ſubject. Theſe are the words. "That no "*Governor General*, or any of the council, "ſhall directly, or indirectly, accept, re- "ceive, or take, of or from any perſon, or "perſons, or *on any account whatſoever*, any "preſent, gift, donation, gratuity, or re- "ward, pecuniary or otherwiſe."—Now for the obſervance of the act.

Firſt Sum—*Twenty-three thouſand pounds from* Cheit Singe.

Second Sum—*Thirty-four thouſand five hundred pounds.* From whom this preſent came never appeared.

Third Sum—*Sixteen thouſand pounds.* The donor unknown.

Fourth Sum—*Twenty-three thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-one pounds.* The donor unknown.

The firſt ſum Mr. Haſtings *ſaid* he paid into the hands of the ſub-treaſurers at Calcutta—but the Company never received *any other* account that it really was paid—For

"*We believe there never was an inſtance in India of a truſt ſo* "*diſpoſed of!*" In page 81, the reader will find ſomething which perhaps he may deem explanatory of this appointment.

the

the ſecond ſum he takes bonds of the Company, as if the money was his own, and afterwards relinquiſhes a part of it as the Company's right. It is all his own at one time, only two thirds of it at another, and at laſt he ſurrenders his whole claim of it.--- For the third ſum he likewiſe takes a bond as if the money was all his own, and in ſome time after he yields the entire back again to the Company.---The fourth ſum he likewiſe claimed as his own at one time, and abandoned at another time as the Company's property.

There is beſide theſe a claim made by Mr. Haſtings upon the Company of *twenty-nine thouſand pounds* for Durbar charges. In ſome time after however, he recollects that *this* money alſo belonged to the Company, and remits the claim---*(The reader ſhould be informed, that Mr. Haſtings never acknowledged the receipt of any monies thus acquired, until after Mr. Francis took his paſſage for England, and after the Houſe of Commons had appointed the two Committees to enquire into the Company's affairs.)*

Fifth Sum---*One hundred thouſand pounds*, a preſent to Mr. Haſtings by the Subah of Oude. (The Subah owed the Company an enormous debt at the ſame time.)

THIS ſum was paid by bills on a great money lender of Benares, and the negociation of the bills rendered the concealment of the

the tranſaction next to impoſſible. Mr. Haſtings took a particular fancy to this preſent, and begged the Company would let him have it. The Company refuſed his requeſt, and referred him to the Act of Parliament. The Act declares all preſents to be the property of the Company, but not as a ſanction for receiving them, which the Act poſitively prohibits. The view is only "to inveſt the Company with a legal title to "a civil ſuit." *By his own confeſſion Mr. Haſtings received* 228,000 l. *in about one year and five months of this forbidden money.*

MISCELLANEOUS CHARGES.

Tippo Saib---The Mahrattas in the treaty inſiſted an article ſhould be inſerted to give Hyder, or his ſon (Hyder ſoon after died) the benefit of peace, if he choſe to accept it, and Haſtings ordered Anderſon to admit in the treaty a clauſe to that ſenſe. But here he diſplayed infinite faculty---for *at the very moment* he admitted an article to make peace with Tippo Saib, he projected a plan with Madagee Scindia for his *total deſtruction, and actually parcelled out his dominions to be divided between them.*

I am aware that ſome puny infirm mortals will be apt to exclaim a little upon this occaſion (the cruelties our priſoners received under Tippoo being freſh in their memory) and perhaps the juſtice of Providence will be queſtioned---

Why

Why does the poor ſoldier or ſubaltern guiltleſs of this infamous treachery *ſuffer*, and they who wantonly provoked this barbarity, lord it in all the banefulneſs of triumphant impunity? The goodneſs of Providence too perhaps may be implored, to give ſome conſolation to the thouſands that lament at this moment in the bitterneſs of anguiſh, the hard fate of their dear relatives who fell the victims of a ſevere though juſt retaliation.—But after all, there would be more piety, than policy in ſuch exclamations! We know that battles were never ſo deſperately fought, as when the wiſe cuſtom prevailed of cutting off the priſoners heads after dinner; and the revival of that uſeful valour which ſprings from the certainty of death to captives, was, I doubt not, one of Mr. Haſtings's motives in ſtimulating Tippo Saib to this exemplary rigour.

Munny Begum---Receiving *one million fifty thouſand rupees* from Munny (the Nabob's *Miniſter* and *Guardian*) for AN ENTERTAINMENT --- This he never denied, but reproached his colleagues* bitterly

* GENERAL Clavering, Colonel Monſon, and Mr. Francis. Theſe Gentlemen make the following declaration in a minute, dated May 25, 1775.—"In the late proceedings of "the Revenue Board it appears that there is *no ſpecies of pe-* "*culation* from which the *Governor General* has thought pro- "per to abſtain."

for making the diſcovery. It certainly was very impolite.

Phouſedar of *Hughly*---Diſpoſſeſſing a man of this office, and appointing another in his place, with a ſalary of 72,000 rupees per annum, out of which ſalary Haſtings himſelf was to have 36,000, and his Banyan, for managing the buſineſs, 4000 more.

The reader will find this curious affair at large in the eleventh report of the ſelect Committee, with its appendix, and it is really worth his peruſal. Haſtings diſcovered infinite ability in the evaſion of enquiries into theſe and many other charges. To uſe the words of the poet 'No man has a more "engaging preſence of mind on the road." His genius ſparkles with greater refulgence in proportion to the magnitude of his danger. We underſtand the gaining over, or buying off an enemy, indifferently well in this country—promotion, bribery, retirement, and many other dextrous devices are familiar to us. But the beſt among us are botches in the art. Set our boldeſt efforts beſide Haſtings, and what a contemptible figure they make! A grievous charge lay againſt him at a particular time, and in the whole world there was but one * man who could injure him---It was no ſeaſon for indeciſion, and his expedient was at leaſt equal to

* Nundcomar.

the

the peril. He indicted the man for a conſpiracy, and failing in that, he accuſed him of a new crime, and the man was *hanged* directly. The moſt captivating theory in Machiavel is mere milkineſs to this method of ſilencing an enemy. In that hour and in that act, periſhed *all* the accuſers of Mr. Haſtings in the *Eaſt*.

The ſame ſplendid capacity is diſplayed upon every exigency. His judgment told him once, it would be right to reſign his office, and he diſpatched an agent (Mr. Maclean) for this expreſs purpoſe. The reſignation was formally notified and formally accepted. His judgment afterwards told him it would be wrong to reſign, and then he ſolemnly denied having confided any ſuch commiſſion to the agent whom he diſpatched for that very purpoſe. Should he---who yeſterday could ſay unto his kneeling ſlave, "Riſe up and be a king"---become the willing inſtrument of his own degradation!—ſhould he, who ſunk the deſcendant of Tamerlane into ſhame and want, ſink himſelf into a private citizen of this country!—ſhould that ſtar that luminates a world, twinkle through the ſtreets of this ſaucy town unnoticed perhaps, or noticed only to be deſpiſed! and ſurrender the gorgeous grandeur of his preſent ſituation on the deſperate riſk of fading into the falſe glare and counterfeit honor of a Britiſh Peerage!

NEVER was man ſtored with truer notions of good government than this great man. A cobler in Fetter-lane defies all the powers of the King of England to deprive him of an old ſtrap more than the law allows him.---But ſee how it fares with the owner of a kingdom under Mr. Haſtings. "The Company, "or the perſon delegated by the Company "holds an abſolute authority over the ſub- "ject (the owner of a kingdom), that ſub- "ject owes an *implicit* and *unreſerved* obedi- "ence to this authority, at the forfeiture "even of his *life* and *property* at the *diſcretion* "of thoſe who hold or fully repreſent the ſo- "vereign authority, and that authority is "fully delegated to *me*!"—Theſe are the words of Mr. Haſtings, and every body knows he is not a man of *words*, (except indeed to the Company.) Unlike ſome pigeon-livered poſſeſſors of uncontrouled ſway in Europe, who are coldly content with having it, *he* ſcorns an inert authority, and cannot be arraigned for having left any power he ever acquired by any means, unexerted in a ſingle inſtance.

THE ſame ſuperior character beams through his policy with foreign ſtates. "I ſhall be "always ready to profeſs," ſays this great man in a blaze of ſpirit and frankneſs,— "that one of *my* motives for going to war "with *my neighbours*, is the hope of getting "their *wealth*." —And the moral of this ſhining

ſhining ſentiment is the type of his life, for no man was born of woman whoſe principles and practice harmonize in truer uniſon.

He has ſent a peace-offering in his laſt letter, for his viſit to *Lucknow* procured from the Nabob 450,000*l.*—How procured he beſt knows! but his merit muſt be infinite, when the misfortunes of that country, from the inflictions of *God*, are added to its miſeries from this *demi-god*. His letter contains manifold conſolations to this nation—he tells us that our empire in India (an empire eſtabliſhed above a hundred years) exiſts only upon the "*thread of opinion.*"---and to crown our comfort, this thread is held by *Warren Haſtings*!

His letter has been publiſhed on the very day* I am writing this paſſage; and without the ſmalleſt apprehenſion of being contradicted, I affirm, that it is the moſt curious and entertaining epiſttle that ever attracted the notice of mankind, from the time of Scaurus and Beſtia, to the time of Haſtings.

Overlooking (if that were poſſible) the high wrought touches of this unequalled piece of writing, and not adverting to dates or ſignatures, you would imagine, not only that Haſtings and the Company had changed characters, but that the ſituation of the Earth was altered, and that *they* were to *execute*, *he* to *adviſe*: for the whole letter is

* The 17th of January.

made up of cenſures and of precepts; of their ignorance and roguery by implication, his own abilities and integrity in direct terms.

As for its ſtile, no criticiſm can reach it. Indeed it is a compendium of ſtiles, and every line of it, like the text of the great claſſicks, would bear a folio of commentaries.

As an inſtance of the *ſublime*—the Prince of Delhi comes to Lucknow. "*An uncommon phenomenon has ſuddenly appeared, which though in itſelf ſimple and unimportant, has derived a magnitude, like the leſs ordinary events of the phyſical world, viewed through the medium of ſuperſtition, from its operation on the opinions of mankind.*"

Of the *eaſy*—he changes his lodgings. "*On the ſame obvious motives, the Prince having deſired to be accommodated in a houſe near to my own, I reſigned to him that which I then occupied, and took immediate poſſeſſion of one of the Nabob's, which he had originally provided and prepared for my reception, within the compaſs of his own palace, and immediately adjoining to that which he lives in.*"

Incorruption.—"*Few are the advocates of the national intereſts, and their voice will be faintly heard amid the numerous and loud exclamations of private rapacity; but I humbly aſſume to rank myſelf with* THE FORMER."

Moderation.—"*God forbid that any future Pizarro's and Almagro's ſhould diſgrace the annals of your dominion, or mark the traces of its decline with the blood, &c.*"

The mad, or the true no meaning. "*That*

"*ſource*

" *ſource, which ought to flow with the princi-*
" *ples of its duration, will, if productive of the*
" *ſame deleterious ſtreams, which have been late-*
" *ly ſeen to iſſue from it, prove the cauſe of its*
" *diſſolution.*"

PERHAPS it is on purpoſe to be miſunderſtood, that all his letters are full of theſe non-intelligibles. But let us deliver up this poetical compoſer of diſpatches, this Pindarick proſe writer, to the diſpoſal of the critics, and view him for a moment, as a politician. After ſtating that no common obſtruction ſhall reſtrain him from remaining in his ſituation, until he brings certain good projects of his own to perfection, he ſays, " I poſſeſs " ſuch inherent advantages, as I truſt will " prove ſuperior to every ſpecies of oppoſi- " tion, but the laſt extremity of it."—In ſo many words, I will not ſtir one inch, for all your authorities—when he wrote this letter he had heard that Mr. Fox's bill had been read twice in the Houſe of Commons, but knew nothing of the change of miniſtry, and concluding that he would be recalled by the late adminiſtration, he thus prepares the nation for a determined reſiſtance. He is well inſtructed as to the popular clamours in London, as this paſſage will ſhew. " It was the condition of vaſſalage " and meanneſs to which the ſervants of the " king of Delhi had reduced him, by de- " grading him into a mere inſtrument of " their intereſted and ſordid deſigns, that he " regretted.

The attachment of the princes and chiefs muſt ſpring from poſitive inſpiration. Except the grand Mogul, whom he has ſtarved, the Vizier "whom he has cut to the bones:" the Rajah of Benares, whom he has baniſhed, and Nundcomar, whom he has hanged, no two *men* in India (women indeed have) ſuffered more from this glorious governor, than Fitzula, and Almaſs Ally Cawn. The former however is now ſo reconciled, that he ſent his ſon to Lucknow to confirm the aſſurance of his attachment to the *Company* and the *Britiſh nation*; and Almaſs Ally, the miſerable victim of the moſt inhuman perſecution, is now it ſeems, eager and anxious to teſtify his love for this mercileſs author of all his calamities. The Prince of Delhi's viſit is, without doubt, purely *accidental*, and Haſtings in ſending him to Madagee Scindia, takes indeed the moſt effectual of all methods, "to preſerve the tranquility of our poſſeſſions."---Now lives there a man who would imagine that the author of theſe heavy oppreſſions upon the unfortunate Mogul, upon the Vizier, Almaſs Ally Cawn, and the different other perſons whoſe cauſe he pleads in this letter with the moſt ſpecious humanity was the very perſon himſelf who ſo deſcribes them?—and in India, or in Europe, or in the whole world, is there ſuch another inexplicable being as this Governor General of Bengal?

Such is the letter and the letter writer. With all his merits he had been a dead weight

weight upon the miniſtry, if they had not fortunately influenced the moſt ſacred perſonage in this country, by her reception of his wife, and by the ſanction of her ſmiles, to give operation to his powers, and currency to his character.

NOTHING leſs could ſerve the great end in view. Not the burthen of ten thouſand hawkers freighted daily by the unfatigued eternal Major.---Nor the recantation of Dundas, nor all his ſlimy panegyrics---nor the perſpicuous inanities of Pitt---nor the barbarous growling of Thurlow, could ſtem the torrents that flowed from the Reports of the Committees.---Even *Robinſon Cruſoe* * failed. The cordial hug of Mrs. Haſtings, freſh in oriental fragrance, and blooming in all her unpolluted virtues, could alone turn their Indian ſyſtem in favour of the preſent, and throw a ſtigma upon the late miniſtry---thoſe bad men who had ſo baſely perſecuted the moſt ſpotleſs huſband of the moſt ſpotleſs wife in Chriſtendom.

ONE of the chief aims (and I think one of the beſt aims) of the King's friends, is the levelling of all moral diſtinctions, and equalizing the characters of mankind, without any diſtinction whatever---inſomuch that the preſervation of an exact balance, betwixt their own, and even the royal reputation, has been ſtudiouſly and uniformly ſought by

* LORD Thurlow ſaid, the Reports of the Houſe of Commons had juſt as much weight with him, as reading Robinſon Cruſoe.

them.

them. Nothing is more invidious among the great, than an inſulting ſuperiority in the virtues, and a moſt generous fellowſhip has been dealt (with a moſt equitable reciprocity in the ſpirit of this principle) between the maſter and ſervants, ſo that neither party ever feels the leaſt concern for any thing that might injure the fame of the other party. There are, who impute to the operation of this good maxim, the perſuaſions of the Miniſtry in favour of Mrs. Haſtings.---Whatever the motive was, they have certainly ſucceeded; and the Queen's mortification, upon a conceſſion unprecedented in her hiſtory, cannot be eſtimated on a better ſcale, than by the reflection of her own connubial character, and the determined diſtance at which ſhe has ſyſtematically kept every woman however ſplendid her rank, or powerful her influence, on whom ſuſpicion had laid her fingers---*before this inſtance.*

In *my* judgment the Miniſtry were impelled by wiſer and worthier incitements, than injuring the character or feelings of the ſacred perſon alluded to. To purge the country of a national ſtain, and produce in the ſame act, a national benefit, were I doubt not their objects. Philoſophers admit that virtues in the extreme do operate as vices. The Britiſh Court has long been reproached for an unpoliſhed diſtaſte of certain female elegancies, that gameſomneſs of moral, and that agreeable looſeneſs of principle which bring about

about occaſional deviations from the inhuman and barbarous reſtraints of the marriage bond, and which contribute greatly to the perfection of the female mind. Many good people have juſtly decried this ſqueamiſhneſs, and it certainly has furniſhed foreign nations with inſtruments of ſlander againſt us, as a ſet of iſlanders, a parcel of ſavages, blind to the true delights and luxuries of life.---We all know the marked diſcouragement which the firſt female in the land has uniformly ſhewn to every attempt at reforming this defect, and it was a moſt judicious meaſure in the miniſtry, now that her royal daughters are gradually growing into womanhood, to attempt the removal of every poſſible impediment to the formation of thoſe foreign alliances which we have a right to hope through ſuch an amiable medium: by their having introduced a perſon to be the grace of the royal circle, the ornament of the Court, whoſe character may tend to wipe away this ſtain in the face of Europe, whoſe accompliſhments might meliorate this rigorous and ruſtic virtue, and from whoſe ſociety and example the royal offspring might chance to pick up ſome improvements that would tend to ſtrengthen their titles to uſeful and ſplendid connections among the princes of Europe. Cardinal Mazarine removed the Pyrrhenees and founded the grandeur of the French monarchy upon the baſis of a royal match. Our Mazarines have the moſt numerous train of lovely, and hitherto unſullied females, that

ever

ever animated miniſters to negociate, and it were indeed lamentable that any coarſe diſqualification, like the very ſurmountable one alluded to, ſhould depreſs their efforts for encreaſing the glory of the Houſe of Brunſwick; and adding to the ſtrength and ſafety of the Britiſh empire, in their diſpoſal of ſo divine a progeny.

So much for the ſervices of the India Company to the King's friends, and their grateful ſacrifices in return.

THE PRINCIPLES of a Government are greatly definable from the means uſed to obtain its patronage, and ſeveral events have occurred within a few months, to elucidate the aims of the preſent miniſtry by this rule, as well as to eſtabliſh in our hearts a confidence in their ſincerity.

AGAINST the equal ſpirit of the common law of England, and the wicked caution of ſtatutes in favour of the ſubjects liberty, the friends of the Crown had, upon exigencies, one certain ſource of ſupport---I mean the twelve Judges, and thoſe to do them juſtice have ſeldom failed them. The integrity of Judges has been much blazoned ſince the King has been robbed of the power of removing them, but in this aſſumption there is in reality leſs truth than affectation. The Judges upon being fixed for life, grew rather prudiſh than chaſte, and had more coquetry than ſolid paſſion in their boaſted independence. When the Crown has tried them, the

ſame convenient pliancy—the ſame temper of expedient ductility, the ſame relaxableneſs of mind that characteriſed their predeceſſors have ſeldom been wanting (bating ſome ſlight exceptions.) There are indeed ſome fierce indomitable ſpirits, even now upon the bench, whoſe rugged and clumſy attachment to their duties, would, I fear, be proof to the arts of the mighty necromancer, Pitt himſelf—but theſe I truſt are not the larger number. Others there are who, on the ſolemn tribunal of diſpenſing the law—in the ſacred ſeat of juſtice, can yield to their ambitions, and direct the incenſe to the proper channel. The right of juries is one of the worſt evils of this conſtitution, and the only candidate for the only great judicial office likely to be ſoon vacated, timed his efforts to abridge thoſe pernicious rights moſt excellently. and in charging twelve men to convict a fellow ſubject, (ſtrictly prohibiting the conſideration of his guilt) had views far ſuperior to the luſt of puniſhing, or a ſanguinary ſpirit of perſecution, (though both are undoubtedly laudable paſſions in a Judge.) In Sir Francis Buller's charge to the Jury who tried the Dean of St. Aſaph, nothing implacable, nothing rancourous to the Dean diſgraced his lips. He could owe *him* no perſonal ſpite, as he truly obſerved, when the judgment was arreſted. He was,

I doubt

I doubt not, utterly indifferent to the point, if the principle was not impaired. Animated with nobler incitements, the learned Judge, conſcious that the jury's right of finding general verdicts was one of the beams that ſuſtain this crazy conſtitution, and the very inſtrument that produced the odious Revolution, was only anxious to lend his mite to our emancipation, perſuaded that in clipping this darling priviledge of Engliſhmen, he was taking the ſureſt road to the ſucceſſion of the firſt ſeat of criminal juſtice in Great Britain.

INNUMERABLE are the qualifications of this good man for that high office. Some ſay he is proud, unfeeling, arbitrary, and cruel. I think he is not, but yet I am ſure that all theſe are ingredients requiſite for a Judge in theſe times. A miſtake on the bloody ſide of the queſtion is always ſafeſt. Criminals are not hanged for the ſake of ſending the particular wretch out of this world, but for the benefit of example to the public. The more examples therefore, the more benefit, and the murder of innocence is amply attoned in the ſervice rendered the community by the execution of a fellow creature.

"*A popular judge is a deformed thing!*" ſaid a great man. This is a golden ſentiment to the King's friends. No popular judge ever anſwered the ends of government,

and

and ſuch are the fatal errors of our civil ſyſtem, that every judge has been odious to the people in proportion to his ſervility to the crown. But this dictum juſtly ſuppoſes them to be ſuch a herd of vile abandoned beings, that a Judge who becomes their favourite muſt of neceſſity be deformed. It pulls down that unfortunate barrier between honor and infamy, the love of fame; ſhelters a Judge in all that wiſe and virtuous complaiſance to the reigning Miniſter which the conſtitutional fanatics term baſeneſs, turpitude, and treachery; for if after ſelling himſelf, his country, and his office (events ſometimes requiſite to government, and perfectly right in the Judge) the national hatred ſhould fall down upon him, he is ſteeled in the coat of mail of this maxim, which, like the Pope's diſpenſation, abſolves him from every ſin.

"A POPULAR Judge is a deformed thing," and *ſuch a thing* is not Judge Buller. His whole life has ſtudiouſly avoided this deformity, and I defy all his enemies to ſhew one inſtance of his tranſgreſſing againſt the rule. A learned lawyer, and after him a noble and illuſtrious Judge, both quoted this ſaying in Juſtice Buller's vindication laſt November. I am not jealous of that application: my object in mentioning it is only to rectify a miſtake into which the learned lawyer and even the noble Judge led the public

public reſpecting the *ſource* of this precious ſaying. Both attributed it to Judge Foſter. Now I beg leave, in honour of the ſpotleſs man who was the true author of it, and to whom the ſentiment was more congenial, to tell the reader that this ineſtimable maxim was *not* Judge Foſter's—It was the maxim of him, whom a poet dear to that venerable Judge and to this nation called

'The wiſeſt, brighteſt—*meaneſt* of mankind.'

—It was the maxim of *Lord Bacon*—a model whom I cordially recommend to Judge Buller, not from any ſympathy that ſubſiſts between them in the groſs view of money, but becauſe a faithful purſuit of his lordſhip's ſteps will lead himſelf to all the dignities of his profeſſion, and greatly accelerate that happineſs to us which had long ſince been our lot, if men and judges like Judge Foſter had not officiouſly impeded the current of our good fortune, in oppoſition to the Bacon's and the Buller's of other ages.

VARIOUS circumſtances advantageous to the miniſtry occurred upon this trial. The Judge and the Crown Advocate played the ſame game. The Barriſter would ſit on the bench, and the Judge in the corner would prefer the center. Mr. Bearcroft in deſcanting upon the wickedneſs of telling plain truth volunteered in the Miniſter's cauſe, and gave the *reform* an unbought blow, by ſtigmatizing the Iriſh for their zeal in favour of it.

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In his digreſſive taunt upon the Iriſh Mr. Bearcroft eſſentially ſerved the Miniſtry. The reproach he caſt has been vehemently reprobated in Ireland, and will tend in its degree to promote the diſcontentedneſs of that country, the increaſe of which ſeems the great policy of government at this time. ---The Judge taunted the argument for the rights of Juries '*as the language of a party*,' meaning thoſe ragamuffins the Whigs, one of whom defended the Dean as council, and impudently dared in open court to vindicate not merely the libel (which at ſuch a time as this ſeditiouſly revived the moſt pernicious doctrines in magna charta and the bill of rights) but likewiſe the obnoxious right of Juries to find general verdicts (when it is our evident intereſt to demoliſh Juries altogether) as well as the people's right to reform the Houſe of Commons (when the very name of a Houſe of Commons ſhould be blotted from our memory)---Such is the virulent bigotry of that faction in all that regards this diabolical conſtitution!

Here I muſt tell the reader with a trembling heart my apprehenſions, that the fiend Fox intends to bring a bill into Parliament this winter, to eſtabliſh the right of Juries to find general verdicts, and what is worſe, I fear that our amiable Miniſter cannot hazard an oppoſition to it in the LowerHouſe, from the peculiar temper of the

preſent moment. This meaſure (if the mutes ſhould not ſtrangle it above ſtairs) would make againſt us without doubt. But the miſchief is momentary, for every thing muſt fall by and by in the common cruſh of the whole ſyſtem. That's our comfort.

THIS conceſſion however is but merely diſcretionary—the Miniſter's power in the Lower Houſe is in reality omnipotent. Not Cæſar was more ſucceſsful when he raiſed the Centurions into that Senate which courted ſlavery, and wiſely depoſited all the authorities of the Roman conſtitution in the perſon of an individual, than William Pitt in modelling the preſent Houſe of Commons. Scores of legiſlators he has made, who expected to ſit upon the Britiſh throne, juſt as much as in the Britiſh parliament, twelve months ago—Aye, but are they daſhers?—Is there no dread of conſtituents—no fear of ſhame upon the long run?—Can he truſt them in *all* caſes?—This I cannot anſwer for---but he can make Peers of all the doubtful members, and then their faith is infallible while he is miniſter.

THE mention of the peerage ſuggeſts another ſtrong ground of confidence in the preſent miniſtry. Creating Nobles is a prodigious ſource of ſupport to the King's friends. In moſt countries of Europe this prerogative has been exerciſed upon men either of diſtinguiſhed family, extenſive properties honourably

nourably acquired, or eminent profeſſional merit---but limited to ſuch reſtrictions with us, it had been in fact rather an incumbrance than an inſtrument of power---*non tali auxilio nec defenſoribus iſtis tempus eget.* Men of this deſcription had never elevated the Britiſh Houſe of Lords to the dignity of a Divan, for how could the King's friends depend upon ſuch men ?---To ſteer wide of this evil, the new miniſtry have judiciouſly gone to the very oppoſite extreme, and overturned the ordinary ſyſtem ſo excellently, that in the conferring of titles the rate of private inſult and public indecorum has been the only meaſure---A fixed ratio of rank is eſtabliſhed—the degree proportioned to the ſtrength of the alliance. So many votes make an Earl, ſo many a Viſcount, &c. Engliſh or Iriſh---according to the caſe. Mr. Beckford is on the liſt for Engliſh nobility. By the ratio he has a right to it from his forces in the Lower Houſe.---But I doubted his ſucceſs. The ſon of *him* (or of his wife,) who dared to ſay, that the libellers of his loyal ſubjects, were unworthy a King's confidence, had a thin claim upon George the Third—that he was brother to one of the moſt implacable remorſeleſs Whigs* in Eng-

* Richard Beckford, the preſent member for Arundel (to whom perhaps ſome apology is due for putting his name in this page.) Mr. Beckford with his characteriſtic pleaſantry ſays, that he was choſen for Bridport in the year 1780 *becauſe he was a Whig*, and turned out in 1784 *for the ſame reaſon.*

land, did not ſurely in ſo far augment his intereſt with William Pitt---But *now* his title is unqueſtionable.

A SINGLE Stentor—(unleſs diſqualified by any lurking love of independence, or ſuſpected of latent leanings towards conſtitutional doctrines) is entitled by the ratio to an Engliſh baronetage, an Iriſh peerage, more or leſs, *pro re nata*. A vote the leſs would hardly keep Lord Delaval, for inſtance, on the baſe liſt of *Iriſh* nobility, gnawing his liver to promote *the cauſe* in the armour of a *Britiſh baron*. In apoſtacies marked with features of ſingular infamy—where the treachery is frontleſs, and the baſeneſs be of an implicit kind, there are always favorable diſcriminations. Lord North was Delaval's God ſix months ago.

" But merit will by turns forſake them all,
" Would you know when, *exactly when* they fall."

IT is not the office but the officer that is divine, and a miſunderſtanding of theſe devotions was the rock Lord North ſplit upon. He lifted men from the gutter into rank, and raiſed beggars into bankers—" They " would die rather than deſert him—they " would be the vileſt wretches that ever " ſtained the name of men if they aban- " doned ſo honourable, ſo liberal a patron." And he in the confidence of his nature takes

all

all this for granted, as if profeſſion was any ſurety for good faith, or benefaction for gratitude.

SUCH is the enobling ſyſtem of the King's friends. The late miniſtry too it ſeems *would* make peers—What! pollute the unſtained threſhold of the Houſe of Lords with their crew—ſouls formed of ſteel, fellows made up of that republicaniſm of mind that grates at the very ſound of ſervitude! Hazard a mutiny under the very roof of the ſeraglio!—"The fool was wiſer I thank you."

THE COMPOSITION of the public cabinet beams the brighteſt proſpects upon this nation—The Gower's and the Thurlow's are ſuperior to ſuſpicion—*Their* whole life is one continued chain of demonſtrations of zeal and ſincerity for *the cauſe*. As little reaſon is there to doubt the other members, if their true characters were underſtood. Lord Cambden might perhaps create ſome qualms from ſuſpicions of Whiggiſm. If Lord Cambden had raſhly oppoſed the miniſtry in trampling upon a Houſe of Commons that dared to defy the power, and inſolently rejected the corruptions of government—If Lord Cambden defended the conſtitution when Lord Temple with his intrepid aſſociates made a bold breach in the very centre of it—If Lord Cambden reprobated the

doctrine of originating money bills in the Upper Houſe, and reſiſted a motion which imputed a breach of law and conſtitution to the Commons of England, *for declaring an opinion concerning the public money*---If Lord Cambden took this courſe, his guilt cannot be concealed; but having done the very reverſe of it, I maintain that the imputation of Whiggiſm is a libel upon his Lordſhip. But let us not be ſcared by a bugbear!—What is the name of a Whig! If Lord Cambden's title to the ſound were never ſo undiſputed, we have this ſupreme conſolation, that his Lordſhip has vindicated ſome of the moſt comfortable doctrines that ever bruſhed from the eyes of mankind, this film called liberty. *Diſcretion* and *ſtate neceſſity* (thoſe valuable doctrines which zealots fooliſhly call the law of tyrants) have been carried farther by Lord Cambden, than by any other man in this kingdom. Aſſuming a power to ſuſpend law coſt James II. his crown, and prevented the happineſs of this nation by producing the revolution. This very principle, *whenever the King thinks it wiſe to ſuſpend*, has been vindicated by Lord Cambden in ſome of the moſt ſplendid harangues ever delivered in the Houſe of Peers.*

Situation has amazing influence upon ſome politicians, and if the Chancellorſhip, in

* See the debates upon the corn proclamation in 1768,

the

the bloom of his abilities ſeventeen years ſince, perſuaded Lord Cambden into the excellence of this laſt and greateſt of James the Second's principles, it is a fair preſumption that the Preſidency of the Council at his preſent time of life, impaired in faculties, and ſtrengthened by years and by experience in that love of the good things of this world inſeparable from old age, and againſt which the enmity of lawyers in particular is not very uniform, will impel him to compliances far more liberal and deciſive.

But are there not others in the public cabinet challengeable for affection to this *great cauſe?* Stands not the Duke of Richmond committed upon points directly adverſe to the demolition of this conſtitution?—From all anxiety in this reſpect I ſhall have little difficulty in reſcuing the reader. I do admit that the Duke of Richmond, encumbered with principles in any meaſure adequate to his profeſſions, might be an impediment: but the big breaſtwork of conſtitutional defence erected by his Grace in the days of his oppoſition to the King's friends, is in truth reduced to the level of his own military genius, and the capture of this conſtitution will be juſt as effectually obſtructed by *his* political ſyſtem, as the capture of the kingdom by his *fortifications*, if it was invaded by an enemy.

Resistance to infidelity, where there is much temptation to it, is a good teſt of faith;

and religious caſuiſts have raiſed obſtacles to the univerſality of their own ſyſtems, neceſſary perhaps to encreaſe the merit of believers, but ſo crouded with contradictions as rendered them very troubleſome to reconcile. Whether any myſtical motive of this kind has brought the Duke of Richmond into this preſent predicament, is not eaſy to aſcertain; but this I affirm, that I would ſooner undertake with Eraſmus* to prove, that the horſe which he ſtole from Sir Thomas More, had been in Flanders and in England at one and the ſame moment, than to reconcile the Richmond of eighty-one, with the Richmond of eighty-four. Athenaſius himſelf was an Euclid to him. Indeed he is made up of paradoxes.

Consistency in the new allies would be fatal to our welfare, and all of them who have vindicated their claim to *our* affections by a ſincere dereliction of their former principles, and a thorough oblivion of paſt declarations, opinions, and doctrines, *ſhould* have our affections. Foremoſt in this line of ſervice ſtands his Grace the Duke of Richmond, as the reader will ſee from this brief review.

The Duke ſaid, he never deſerted and never would deſert his friends—in eighty-two he kept, and in eighty-three recovered, his place

* Quod mihi ſcripſiſti, de corpore Chriſti,
Crede quod edes, et *edes*;
Sic tibi reſcribo, de tuo palfrido,
Crede quod habes, et *habes*.

by

by their down-fall and his deſertion. He ever was, and ever will be a whig—he ſupported every effort of the King's friends for the laſt twelve months, which radically overturns the whole ſyſtem of whiggiſm. He ever was, and will ever be an enemy to coalitions—he is linked in bonds of dearneſs with Gower and Thurlow, Dundas and Jenkinſon. He ever was, and ever will be a foe to ſecret influence—he bends every day with a contrite reverence to the high prieſts of the temple. He always did, and always will, oppoſe the influence of the crown—he lately helped to encreaſe it beyond all former examples. He had ſo little regard for the perſon of his ſovereign, that he refuſed a mark of decorum ſhewn in all civilized nations to the reigning prince, and publicly* proclaimed his contempt for it—he is now the moſt devout devoted courtier in the long liſt of cringing ſycophants. He was the firſt in paſt times to combat all ſtretches of the prerogative—he is now the moſt furious advocate for its extreme exertion. He arraigned the uſe of it violently in calling up to the peerage, a man of a very noble and illuſtrious family †—He now employs it in

* "*What care I for the King's birth-day.*"—Richmond.

† LORD SACKVILLE. He was at the ſame time virulently attacked by one of the preſent Secretaries of State, which Secretary, report ſays, he is himſelf to ſucceed in office, and may God of his infinite goodneſs make it a true report. There is an alliance between the virtues. Kick a ſpaniel and he fawns upon you. In return for this contempt the ſpirited Sackville ſupports theſe very men *vi et armis*, and his ſons in law carried one of the ſulphur and ſaltpetre addreſſes in Ireland, where ſome ſad ills befel the family. No man ſhould neglect *his own*, for the ſake of a *miniſter's buſineſs*.

raiſing

raiſing upſtarts, and borough brokers to the higher ranks of the nobility. He reveres the Majeſty of the people—and has ſtruggled to reduce them into inſignificance, by degrading the only organ through which they can have any permanent influence. He reſpects the Houſe of Commons---and ſtudies to deprive it of its fundamental priviledges. He has pledged himſelf never to join or ſupport any adminiſtration that would not earneſtly endeavour to reform the repreſentation---he has never ſaid one word on the loſs of Sawbridge's motion, although the miniſter's *dead* majority in the lower Houſe was two hundred. He is *quite ſerious* for reform---and would employ every man in England, high and low, poor and rich, great and little, (women and children * barely excepted) once every year, upon the pleaſant taſk of parliament chooſing. He loves order --- and would place the link-boy and pick-pocket upon a footing with the moſt reſpectable citizen. He values the dignity and independence of honourable profeſſions---and would ſink the great eſtabliſhment he conducts to the loweſt pitch of ſervility. He admires the frankneſs of

* As an enemy to our ſyſtem of government I moſt earneſtly wiſh ſucceſs to the *Duke of Richmond's reform*, cordially believing, that it would of its own natural operation, work the downfal of this conſtitution in a few years; and perhaps Mr. Pitt had as well adopt his Grace's plan, as the ſcheme in hand, to effect our *redemption*, as well as to ſave his own credit with the reformers.

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a manly candor---and perſecutes a brave and venerable officer for giving a free opinion upon a ſyſtem of regulations that changed the whole character of a ſphere of ſervice from which the officer derived his reputation and fortune. All that remains to complete his Grace's character, is that he ſhould propagate an *Agrarian* principle, and ſtrive to equalize the *properties* as well as the franchiſes of men—an atchievement for which the generoſity of his own noble nature fits him in a moſt eſpecial manner.

In a word, we have no reaſon to dread the Duke of Richmond?

I AM NOW ARRIVED at the darling point of my undertaking, to the review of the youth himſelf, the matchleſs leader of this mighty hoſt! After having engaged ſo much of our attention in the preceding parts of this pamphlet, you would ſuppoſe that nothing more could be ſaid of Mr. Pitt. Of what are called his political principles, further elucidation is without doubt ſuperfluous, but all his perſonalities, thoſe appendages of character which exhibit the mind in the faithfulleſt colours are ſtill in a ſtate of virginity, and theſe form a various and fruitful theme.

Extraordinary enterpriſes can only be accompliſhed by extraordinary means. The overthrow of the Britiſh conſtitution will be an epoch in the hiſtory of this country, and the

the qualities of the man who effects it, will be an epoch in the hiſtory of the human mind. No man is competent to this grand atchievement who is not capable of inverting the whole order of moral judgment—who cannot give grace to the groſſeſt deformity, make infection paſs for health, and inſanity for wiſdom; confound the intellects of the public, and draw from rank deluſion, the fruits of grave and ſober conviction — in ſhort, who cannot perpetrate with applauſe and triumph what any other man would ſuffer for, upon a ſcaffold or a gibbet.

The outſet of William Pitt was marked by ſome of the ſtrongeſt features that ever gave an early earneſt of future perfection. In March 1782, he declared himſelf totally unfit for the only civil ſtations he would accept, but by the next July he acquired ſo much knowledge, and the myſteries of government (certainly by inſpiration) became ſo eaſy to him, that he aſcended the moſt laborious office in the Engliſh government without the leaſt ſcruple.

After a long laborious oppoſition, the Whigs were called to the miniſtry, and when they were thought firm in the faſtneſs of power, a cloſet mine was ſprung upon them and down they tumbled. William Pitt after one year's concurrence in their oppoſition, ſteps into their places, chaunts up

up the old ballad—*Sic vos non vobis*, and tramples them under his feet.

If after many a bloody ſtruggle in ſome well fought ſiege, an ally ſhould come in the criſis of conqueſt, in the very moment of capitulation, and after a needleſs ſhot or two ſhould take poſſeſſion of the fortreſs—fill his own coffers with the ſpoils of the town, and bind his brows in wreaths of victory, to the utter excluſion of the brave troops and their heroic commander who really fought and conquered—you would call it vile, baſe, and treacherous. It would be ſo in war, and the nation would think it ſo in politicks, had it been the deed of any other man than William Pitt—but in him it was ſpirit and patriotiſm and honeſty! Without affecting a minute analyſis of the moral merit of this act, there was indiſputably that ſtrength of nerve diſplayed in it, that firm contempt of what cold common mortals term fairneſs, that laudable love of power which would demoliſh heaven itſelf to attain its object, that ſtoic reſignation to the imputations of a ſcandalous and ſhabby avarice, that premature apathy to feelings which many a long year of indiſcriminate experience cannot obliterate in vulgar politicians—that this act, (ſingly and independent of any other exploit) confirmed him as one deſtined to ſurpaſs the loftieſt flights of ordinary ambition—as ſomething greater than the greateſt we have yet ſeen!

Whether

WHETHER the public, or his immediate connections have carried their predilection for Mr. Pitt to the fartheſt extreme, is difficult to determine. The people in ſanctioning his proceedings have luckily in ſo far altered the ſyſtem of the Engliſh government—his friends in their zeal for him would have changed the whole ſyſtem of human nature. Their cry has been in the late ſtruggle, "charge him with ſome crime, "he is pure of all guilt, and therefore the "fitteſt man to govern the country."

UNTIL laſt year, criminality was thought ſo little an adjunct of inexperience, that the counter opinion has ever prevailed. The wickedneſs of age, and the innocence of youth, have been allied in moral calculation even to a proverb—"Tell me the oldeſt man "in Athens, ſaid a wiſe man, and I'll tell "you the greateſt rogue."—But proverbs and principles had no weight with the friends of Mr. Pitt.—That the laws of providence were unchangeable—that the principles of creation were fixed, that human nature was and would ſtill be, human nature, were no checks upon their enthuſiaſm. Even butchers weeped!---Lord Mulgrave himſelf aſſayed upon his virtues! --- That Pitt's enemies could not confound the order of God and ſubvert the condition of mortality, was in truth ſufficient reaſon that Pitt ſhould be the miniſter---for they could not impeach him

him although his political life was of *one entire and compleat year's duration.* I ſay this *has been* the cry, but whether his *ſecond* year does or does not conſtitute an exception to thoſe theories that ſuppoſe youth and innocence to be ſynonimous, is a knot to be unravelled by others.

FROM the beginning of this reign one great evil has uniformly thwarted the King's friends---the precipitate retreat of the public miniſters, when preſſed hard by the enemy. Grenville's, Graftons, Shelburne's, ſeverally ſurrendered at the call. Even Lord Bute's reſiſtance was ſhort. The indelible crime of Lord North, was his relinquiſhing, when the deſertion of the Commons was only in proſpect.

A PERSON was neceſſary as firſt miniſter, whoſe wants made the emoluments of office dear to him—who would ſtick to his place like a leech to an impoſthume—whoſe callous heart could endure the cuffs of the ſtruggle, and who had the courageous obtuſeneſs to treat the cenſure of the Commons like the ſarcaſm of a paragraph. Twice they tried this illuſtrious youth, and twice he has aſſerted an eminence of ſuperiority in this moſt uſeful of merits. In 1783 he kept the country for ſix weeks, and in 1784 for ſix months, without any oſtenſible government. ---

—Curruque hæſit reſupinus inani,
Lora tenens tamen.---

He

---He was turned upſide down---trailed along the ground with his head in the mud, but *ſtill kept faſt hold of the reins.*

Acute inſpectors of human life have obſerved, that the moſt conſummate deception is often ſeen in very young people, and that it ariſes not ſo much from a contamination of the mind, as an inſenſibility to the intrinſic turpitude of that vice from inexperience, and their prodigious facilities in the art of impoſition from the confidence generally repoſed in them upon a preſumption of their pureneſs. I make this remark without any application of it to Mr. Pitt, for he without queſtion, comprizes in his own perſon all the virtues of experience and longevity. Not to enter upon any moral diſcuſſion of it, we know that hippocriſy is in truth a miniſter's ſheet anchor. It is the *ſine qua non* of his ſituation, and in this admirable quality Lord Shelburne himſelf is the eſſence of ſimplicity compared with Mr. Pitt.

Do you think Lord Shelburne would venture to aſſure the Commons of England, that his Majeſty did *not* mean to diſſolve them at the very moment he *did* poſitively mean it? —(The miniſter's glory in this reſpect muſt not be tarniſhed upon an idea that he was only a puppet, and not truſted with the real deſign of the cabinet.)

Do you think Lord Shelburne would hazard the farcical negociation of laſt February, and

and appear ſerious in wiſhing a junction with the Whigs at the ſame time that his emiſſaries were ſent to all parts of the kingdom to ſecure that very meaſure which was intended to prevent a junction? Obſerve his loſs and gain by this trick. He only loſt thoſe untractable animals the country gentlemen—he gained a parliament picked and choſen to his own purpoſes, and the celebrity of ſurpaſſing all the miniſters that ever went before him in this beſt of virtues.

FATE, that favored us in all theſe exigencies, prevented a junction that would certainly have lengthened out the life of this lingering conſtitution. The miſcarriage of that treaty is indeed a cauſe of triumph—one regret only ariſes from its failure. There is a ſplendid quality of the human mind which would doubtleſs receive freſh luminations from Mr. Pitt, had he ſat in the ſame cabinet with Mr. Fox. It is that which Shakeſpeare ſays turns men's graces into enemies; that ſpirit which gangrenes the heart and mortifies the ſoul at another's merit—which likes a friend while he is contemptible, and hates him in proportion to the growth of his fame and the brilliancy of his exploits—whoſe workings are not checked by communion of intereſt or unity of fortune, but in the very act of co-operating in the ſame cauſe and in ſtruggling for the ſame end, ſtudies to degrade

its fellow labourer.—That ſweet refinement of the exterior, that ſmooth ſoft poliſh of the mind, which ſimpers in your face and choaks with joy at your ſucceſs even *then*, when it would undermine your character, ſtop the current of your good fortune, blaſt your faireſt laurels, and ſink you into barrenneſs and beggary.

Poets and politicians excel the reſt of the world in this great quality. Its ſympathy with the thouſand other virtues which diſtinguiſh Mr. Pitt, and which ſeem innate and peculiar to him, aſſures us that he would throw a number of new graces upon it, had he ſat in the ſame council with *him*, who of all men living was the moſt likely to furniſh him with frequent occaſions; and in this view, moral philoſophy may have ſuffered by the failure of that junction, but then its tendency to expedite the ultimatum of our wiſhes, ſuper-atones for every other evil.

The miniſter's *manners* in the Lower Houſe form another ground of juſt praiſe.---

We have already ſhewn that Mr. Pitt treated the laws and precedents of parliament as the younger Tarquins treated the older—he rode over their body---All the ſanctities and ceremonies of parliament ſhared the ſame deſerved fate. An affectation there is in vulgar miniſters of reſpecting wherever they find them, certain accompliſhments (as they

are

are deemed) ſuch as ſcience, learning, wit, belles lettres, genius.---Even in the moſt determined enemies, theſe endowments have been reverenced---But this renowned young man ſprings above the level of ſuch infirmities, and in his parliamentary manners has dealt out the moſt high and haughty contempt, to ſuch members *eſpecially* as happened to rank high in public eſteem upon theſe very pretences. You would think on the firſt conſideration perhaps, that ſuch a man as Burke was entitled to the uſage of a gentleman. His contributions to the ſtock of uſeful philoſophy; his expoſition of falſe ethicks, and falſe polity; thoſe ſplendid labours which augment the literary glory of the nation, his vaſt and varied literature, the number, the beauty of his compoſitions, his age, the devotion of thirty years to the public ſervice, that eloquence which *once* carried his name covered with admiration to every part of the empire.---

ADMITTING him to poſſeſs a hundred times this merit, it were mere weakneſs to allow him the leaſt quarter: for he is a moſt rancorous and remorſeleſs enemy to the King's friends. The illuſtrious youth opened the batteries upon him in perſon, and bravely declared that he deſpiſed him. * This was the ſig-

* In debating the King's ſpeech when the Marquis of Lanſdown was Miniſter, and Mr. Pitt Chancellor of the Exchequer.

nal for ſyſtematic operation, and ſcoffing Burke with every indignity is now become a ſphere of ſervice, a regular channel of promotion. It made *Wrotſley* a general, and will enoble *Rolle*.

By the ſame pitiful calculation you would preſume, for inſtance that, if Sheridan's literary labours were alluded to by this great miniſter, the alluſion would be in his praiſe. O no—His towering ſoul is a ſtranger to ſuch feelings. For this very excellence in Sheridan---foran unrivalled ſuperiority in one of the moſt difficult exerciſes of the human capacity;---for that which "young Ammon "wiſhed, but wiſhed in vain"—for an eminence in letters, which made the name of *Sheridan* reſpectable, when the name of *Pitt* (reſplendent as it afterwards became) was never even heard of—has the noble youth obliquely taunted him and continued the practice until a tide of defeats deterred him from ſuch encounters. The miniſter is entrenched body deep in human nature through theſe conflicts. The family of Pitt was exalted by perſonal genius, and nothing can be more reaſonable than his jealouſy that any other man ſhould burſt from the cloud of an ill matched fortune, and by dint of parts erect himſelf into that notice and diſtinction, which the bulk of mankind owe to the labours of ſeveral men in ſeveral generations. "To hate thoſe arts that cauſed ourſelves to riſe,"

riſe," is a golden maxim, engraved upon the heart in deep and legible impreſſions.

To draw good effects from bad cauſes, to derive popularity from real virtue is mere botchery. Give us the man who can extort glory from poſitive wickedneſs, and ſet the nation blubbering his praiſes for an act that deſerves their execration. The affair of the *Pells* exhibits a ſtriking inſtance of this ſpecies of merit in this incomparable miniſter.

His preſent majeſty has the greateſt perſonal revenue of any monarch in Chriſtendom. Four times however in the courſe of his reign, have the public been obliged to pay his debts: (in the laſt payment there has been infinite excellence. His majeſty aſſured the nation when Pitt was miniſter before, that he ſhould not again preſs upon them in that way; and preſſing upon them in that very way and in leſs than two years, ſhews that valiant contempt of ſolemn declarations which is indiſpenſible to a good government.) The magnitude of his income and the extremity of his diſtreſſes * forced a ſuſpicion of the integrity of the expenditure, and from a ſeries of concurring circumſtances, this ſuſpicion grew to ſuch a height that granting money to the civil liſt and bribing the parliament, were deemed one and the ſame thing. The clerkſhip of the Pells

* His Lord Steward once told the Houſe of Peers that his majeſty had not a loaf of bread for his ſupper.

is a very profitable ſituation, but never was conſidered as a fit proviſion for a chief miniſter. No chief miniſter ever accepted it, and William Pitt, on the top of Piſga with the land of Canaan before his eyes—at the head of this government and at his time of life, with all the great ſinecures of the country in proſpect, was not quite ſo unhackneyed in the ways of men as to ſtoop to ſuch a trifle. No. He did that which was far more beneficial in that criſis; he gave the Pells to Colonel Barre, and threw Barre's penſion of near four thouſand pounds a year back into the ſinking fund of the King's friends—into this very *civil liſt*: and this he did in the heyday of the parliamentary ſtruggle laſt winter. I will admit for a moment with the faction, that corrupting the Commons is vile and infamous, diſgraceful as they ſay to the Crown and the legiſlature, but they are blind not to perceive that the more this is admitted, the more it enhances the glory of Pitt. Not Fabricius in rejecting the gold of Pyrrhus—nor Cincinnatus in abandoning empire for poverty, nor the elder nor the younger Cato were half ſo extolled as William Pitt for this notable generoſity. He was a mirror of diſintereſtedneſs! a model of purity! *Romanis ducibus et Graiis antefercndus*—fifty cubits beyond any thing in Greek or Roman ſtory!!

From the affair of the receipt tax, this wonderful young man hit off a merit of near-

ly

ly the ſame ſort. When Lord John introduced this tax, Pitt praiſed it extremely; but when he found it became unpopular, he judiciouſly ceaſed his panegyricks, and Lord Mahon (his brother in law) laboured daily in the pace of Jacob, with head and hands and ſhoulders, to ſwell the clamor againſt it. Such is the wittol courage of the *faction*, that in the height of the public phrenzy laſt winter, they dared to carry forward a bill to make this tax effectual and on the 10th of February upon a diſcuſſion of its clauſes, the Houſe demanded Pitt's opinion upon it. The queſtion was put to him in a thouſand ſhapes, and for ſeveral hours before he opened his lips. It is an admirable part of Mr. Pitt's parliamentary manners that, though he often replies to the queſtion of an individual member, whenever the body of the Houſe requeſt an anſwer from him, he ſits as motionleſs and mute as a ſtatue. For a miniſter to refuſe an anſwer concerning a public meaſure, is always well---but it is ſtill better that a finance miniſter upon a point of finance ſhould ſit ſpeechleſs. At length however he declared the tax an admirable one, and ſupported it.

This contempt of the Houſe was a great object, but he had a much greater object in contemplation. The tax in queſtion had been the chief ground of odium againſt the *faction*. The famous meeting in Weſtminſter Hall was advertiſed for the ſucceeding

Saturday, and Pitt, with the wiſdom of a profound ſtateſman, expected that the electors of Weſtminſter would be kindly taken in by this exquiſite cunning, coupled with a report which had been juſt at that time carefully propagated, that he meant to repeal it---and that they would of courſe receive their old favorite Fox with the more coldneſs. But you would think perhaps that the perſeverance of the Houſe defeated Pitt's ſcheme—By no means. His fruitful ſoul is fraught with expedients. By the dawn of the day of the Weſtminſter meeting, handbills were diſperſed through all parts of the town, and delivered at the hall gate to the electors, gravely cautioning them, "not to credit the miſrepreſentations of a "degraded and deſperate faction upon this "ſubject, ſolemnly aſſuring the public that "Mr. Pitt reprobated the receipt tax, and "that he would moſt certainly repeal it."--- What chance have his miſerable enemies againſt a miniſter ſo rich in reſources!!

PICTURES are often preſented to us by fanciful writers of a certain nobleneſs of thinking (as it is called) that grows out of the intrinſic dignity of a great mind---a grandneſs of thought, which ſcorns the promotion of fame by low artifices, which deſpiſes the giddy adulation that impoſture filtches from blinding the multitude, and the venal flattery which corruption purchaſes

chaſes from ſlaves and ſycophants, valuing itſelf only upon the ſober applauſe reſulting from a deliberate canvaſs of a man's real merits; and theſe pictures I confeſs are very captivating in theory: but conſtrained to ſuch a ſphere, no miniſter would ever make the impreſſion neceſſary for *us* in this great undertaking. The qualifications we want are the exact reverſe of this picture—we want a loftineſs that would ſnuff the Heavens at one moment, and a grovelingneſs that would lick the duſt upon the next—an inflated aſſumption of purity, thick in the practice of the rankeſt proſtitution—a pompous pretence of neglecting the common arts of popularity making, when the moſt ſhameleſs ſhifts, the moſt ſcandalous devices, are exerted to extort the periſhable acclaim of a ſingle day.—We want that uſeful pride which is meanneſs in reality—that myſterious ſort of ſubtlety which is miſtaken for candour ---that pollution which paſſes for purity---that fraud which wears the garb of honeſty, and that ſordidneſs and baſeneſs which reſemble ſpirit and honour. Theſe are the ingredients to conſtitute a true ſtateſman. Theſe are the virtues we want, and in theſe virtues the Almighty has gifted this matchleſs young Miniſter beyond the firſt of the firſt claſs!!

WHAT does the reader think of old Pitt's celebrated retort upon Walpole (when Walpole taunted him for his youth) being publiſhed during the late ſtruggle, in a ſhape ſo

ſingularly dexterous as to appear the work of Pitt the younger---faſtening the ſuppoſition by annexing a catalogue of brilliant invectives againſt the " degraded and the deſperate " faction?" And how publiſhed, in pamphlets and news-papers?—No—there the fallacy had been ſoon detected. Honeſt John Bull was aſſaulted as he paſſed along the ſtreets, with the mantling volume of this auguſt Miniſter's eloquence; and gaped with wonder to ſee how Fox was ſtruck dumb by a ſpeech, delivered twenty years before Fox was born!

Not a blank crevice of any dead wall, pedeſtal, centry-box, or cobler's bulk, in this great metropolis that was not decorated with this veritable evidence of the Miniſter's capacity. Boluſſes, plaiſters, pills, draughts, decoctions, cathartics, clyſters, and cataplaſms, were all hidden under the vaſt volio of

PITT and the CONSTITUTION.

---Had the Miniſter continued the trade a month longer, the health of the community had infallibly been reſcued from the poiſon of empyrics; the whole tribe of itinerant doctors muſt have periſhed; and not a ſecond quack in the country could get a livelihood!!

Pitt (in imitation of the theologians, who compriſe the eſſence of moral duties in four cardinal virtues) concentrates the whole

compaſs

compaſs of political ſcience under four cardinal aphoriſms—*viz.* violation of chartered rights—erecting a fourth eſtate in our ſyſtem —overturning the well compounded ballance of this conſtitution---and the coalition. Theſe are his cardinal aphoriſms, and whether he is engaged in defending or attacking, whether he is opening a great meaſure of government, or diſplaying an adverſary's ignorance, for ſaying *or* inſtead of *and*, whether puzzled by his own or his enemy's argument, in whatever embarraſſments, dilemmas, or difficulties he finds himſelf, a recurrence to any of theſe is ſure to reſcue him. Every effort of reaſon and ridicule has been employed to ſicken him from this practice, but he declares that he *ſhall* and that he *will* continue the cuſtom in deſpite of both. Theſe Cardinal aphoriſms come home to the bowels of the Houſe, and a ſonorous bringing out of either of them, accompanied with a bounce of the arm and a long look towards the right door of the gallery, is always infallible in procuring a formidable chorus of diſſonant but determined *hear hims.*

Their political uſes are infinite. After ſo ſtoutly reſiſting the violation of Charters by other men, who can diſpute his right to cut up the great Charter of the land in the vital part, or to purloin the Charter of the India Company in the way that ſuits his own purpoſes? Such grace, ſuch magic is there about him,

him, that even in the very act of attacking Charters, he ſtuns the ſenſes with the ſacredneſs of Chartered rights---After oppoſing the addition of a new eſtate, who can deny his title to reduce the old eſtates? If three eſtates are better than four, by the ſame ratio, two are better than three. Expanſion always relaxes authority, and blending the powers of the third eſtate in the two firſt, will brace the ſyſtem amazingly---After maintaining "the well compounded balance of the con-" ſtitution," ſurely the deſtruction of the conſtitution in toto is his, by right of conqueſt.

Towards the accompliſhment of great events, nothing has a prouder effect than ſanguinary meaſures. Blood ſtrikes an awe into men, and ſhedding a portion of it gives a ſolemn and workmanlike air to a revolution. Even in this ſuperior line of merit, the miniſtry have diſcovered conſiderable capacity, but we are defrauded of their full energy by the littleneſs of the modern character. Miniſters, like men, muſt accommodate themſelves to the genius of their time, and a legal death in England, may fairly quadrate with a military maſſacre in Rome. The principle that ordered the deſtruction of ſix legions in the latter country, was not a ſpark more pure or more noble than the principle which deſtined ſix men in the former country to periſh by the hands of the hangman; and a difference in the *ſize* of the events is imputable,

able, not to the diſproportion of faculty in the ſtateſmen, but to the wide diſparity of the two ages. In confining ſix men in Newgate, and then trying them * for a murder, upon the bribed evidence in all appearance of the real murderers, there was undoubted and deciſive excellence—but the conduct was moſt accompliſhed towards the ſeventh murderer---the chief victim of this immolation. He was ſuffered to range the town for ſix weeks after he killed the conſtable, as ignorant of the honour intended him, as the deſtined ſacrifice in Pope's Eſſay, and though not literally "Licking the hand juſt raiſed to ſhed his "blood,"---was (up to the *very moment* of being charged in a bill of indictment with the ſlaughter of a fellow-creature) ſo confident and unwary, that his accuſers have all the glory of that ſubtle and finiſhed treachery which ſpeaks the utmoſt refinement of mind, undegraded by the ſimplicity of ſhame, or the fooliſhneſs of remorſe, but altogether forming that ſupreme that ſublime villainy which marks a true genius!

But alas! the trial was by a jury, and Buller was not the Judge.

But do you imagine, Mr. Pitt will ever be detected as authorizing ſuch a proſecution?---*He*---His high ſoul ſwells with indignation

* For the death of Caſſon the conſtable killed in Covent Garden.

at

at the very thought. Do you think *he* ever authorized the High Bailiff of Weſtminſter to grant a ſcrutiny? Do you think *he* would tell a peer that the King would deem him an enemy if he voted for the India Bill. Do you think *he* ever bribed any member of the Houſe of Commons? (*his* undefiled perſon concerned in ſuch a bawdy buſineſs!) Oh no.---He has a fecundity of ſtratagems upon every exigency, and his own opulent fancy, (without the advantages of his ſtation) will never ſuffer him to be diſconcerted upon ſuch occaſions.

The beauty of this plot is, that though the proſecution was maintained with a moſt laudable malignancy, it is univerſally diſavowed. "When your poſſibility has taken "place at the hip, you might as well take "off the head at once, doctor," ſaid a father once, upon a certain diſmemberment which a ſon of his had nearly ſuffered from a ſlip of the midwife's forceps.---Had this murderer been hanged, it had been a matter of indifference to him whether any perſon would avow the thing or not.---Somebody muſt have carried it on that is certain---and yet, from the firſt miniſter at Whitehall, to the laſt miſcreant at the Old Bailey, every ſuſpectable perſon has poſitively denied any knowledge of it. It was right to deny the proſecution ſince it failed, but it was the ſoul of true wiſdom to

commence

commence it. Make death the price of friendſhip to a man, and few will perſiſt in ſo hazardous an attachment. All the ſchemes of human life are carried on by confederacy, and if the greateſt are ſtripped of their connections, they become of no avail. When you cannot directly ruin your enemy; the beſt indirect mode is to deſtroy his friends, and had this proſecution ſucceeded, a copious deſertion muſt inſtantly have taken place in the forces of Fox, which conſideration alone is a full juſtification of the attempt. If Fox ſhould (as ſeems likely) ſoon regain his aſcendency over the public; greater than the greateſt of paſt efforts, muſt be tried to lower him. Daggers may be uſed to better purpoſe than threatening the uſe of them in letters :---there are ſurer poiſons than *euphorbium*, and methods of adminiſtering it more infallibly than daſhing it upon a huſtings.

HAVING ſpoken of Fox, I cannot forbear remarking the fanaticiſm of his friends in daring to lift him into any competition with this wonderful young miniſter, and the better to demonſtrate the madneſs of their zeal, it is worth while to review them both in contraſt.

THAT TRANSCENDANT CAPACITY, which qualifies the individual to lead the million, burſt upon the world from both, the firſt moment they ſpoke in the Senate.

BUT

But their gifts are unequal, and the ſuperior endowment of the one is ſufficiently attoned to the other, by the moſt ſingular ſtrokes of fortune that ever lifted a man prematurely out of his ſphere.

AFTER a routine of ſervice in moſt of the civil boards of executive government---after fourteen years of long labour, trouble, and toil, Fox attained only a ſecondary employment in the King's council.---Pitt got the firſt office in the ſtate after about fourteen months agreeable exerciſe, without the drudgery of ſtudy, the pain of ſubordination, or the fatigue of long endurance.

Fox begun his career under family prejudice, and had a maſs of obſtacles to ſubdue. His name like Veſpaſian's lineage created hoſts of enemies.---

PITT entered upon life in all the eclat of hereditary glory, and had the prepoſſeſſions of mankind in his favour. The name he bore, like the ſtamp of Pompey's foot, raiſed him legions of friends.

Fox is ſo bereft of reſources, that he has nothing to confide in but his own genius and induſtry. He became a miniſter through the people and their repreſentatives, and has managed ſo miſerably that he can never hope to regain power by any other courſe. Narrow and circumſcribed in his ſphere, he is only a whig—a mere whig.—

PITT confides in a degree to his genius,

and

and induſtry, but he has a ſurer ground of ſucceſs than both of them. He would have been a miniſter by the voice of the Commons perhaps by choice, but finding that road barred up, he took fate as he found her, and journeyed onward even by the path-way. He has ſhewn ſuch a dexterity of addreſs, that he may retain or reaſcend his preſent dignity, by every method that ever elevated a politician in this country, without hazard of conſiſtency; and his creed is ſo comprehenſive that he is Whig or Tory, both or neither, according to the preſſure of neceſſity.

Fox is encumbered with paſſion without acerbity, and diſcovers all the infirmities of human nature in the courſe of a diſcuſſion. Guided by the impulſe of his heart, his temper varies with the variation of his ſubject, without guard or diſcretion. He ſometimes yields up a point with an indecent facility, but ſtruggles for a principle with as uncouth and violent a zeal as if he ſtruggled for his exiſtence.—

Pitt is graced by acerbity without any paſſion, and manifeſts the moſt philoſophic equanimity in the moſt intereſting debate. Undiſtorted by the barbariſm of feeling, his mind maintains an even tenor of uniformity, and he paints the miſeries of an empire, and the miſplacing of a comma, preciſely under

the ſame animation. He never gives up a point without ſome conflict, but then he ſurrenders principles with a moſt placid and gentleman-like complaiſance.

Fox raſhly aſſaults the enemy in his ſtrongeſt entrenchment, and is never contented with leſs than the cruel delight of ſeeing his antagoniſt lay dead at his feet.—

Pitt ſeeks the ſafer glory of cutting off a ſtray detachment, and never riſks an encounter in the front: like a judicious Polemic he combats the ſlips and digreſſions of an argument, and has the charitable ſelf-denial to be perfectly ſatisfied if he ſcratches the ſurface without in the leaſt moleſting the vital parts.

Fox has the rudeneſs to diſdain the uſe of ornament in his ſpeeches. He employs words only to convey his meanings, and is always impatient to get rid of them. The ſtudy of his ſoul is to demonſtrate his poſitions, and he has ſuch an unpoliſhed averſion to redundancy, that in his zeal to avoid it, he checks himſelf in the uſe of graces that flow in ſpontaneouſly upon his elocution.---

Pitt with more ſkill carefully conſults the great object of ſound. His words are the moſt ſhewy which the language affords him, and he dwells upon each, like Narciſſus upon his own image. His ſpeeches, like the portrait of a young painter, are always high

high-coloured, and if he does not convince you with the ſolid force of his reaſoning, he at leaſt compoſes you with the ſlumbering ſuavity of his phraſes.

The infecundity of the former, compared to the latter is moſt glaring. Fox has not the faculty to ſay three words upon a ſubject which he does not underſtand. He never aſpires above plain ſimple terms, and is ſo vulgar as to be comprehenſible to the meaneſt capacity. He puts his argument indeed into a variety of lights, but then his ſterility is ſuch, that he ſeldom adds a word more than is ſufficient to expreſs his ſenſe.---

Pitt on the contrary is inexhauſtible and endleſs. He will at any given time, upon any given ſubject, make a moſt ſplendid ſpeech, embelliſhed with gaudy ſhining ſentences admirably concatenated, and a ſeries of ſucceſſive parentheſes, knit together with a moſt ſcholaſtic punctuation—entirely diſburthened at the ſame time of the ſmalleſt * knowledge of the point in diſpute. He is often ſo lofty and ſublime that ſeveral of the moſt acute of his hearers, nay ſome of his own country gentlemen have very frankly confeſſed, that he actually went above their underſtanding. He has the happieſt talent

* He made three very fine ſpeeches againſt an objection of Sheridan's upon the Game Act, and at the end of the third, aſked Sheridan what his objection was.

at amplitude, and will with incredible eaſe to himſelf, employ ſix times the number of words of any other man, in conveying the ſame meaning.

PITT excels in the rancorous ſeverity of his invectives and the ſplendor of his diction :---

Fox only in the fulminations of oratory and an invincible ſtrength of reaſoning.

To be blind to ones own merit is to be ſupremely fooliſh, and nothing ſurely is more exorbitant than to hope others will rate us highly if we do not rate ourſelves ſo. Fox ſins againſt the grain of this good maxim. Whilſt others think his genius places him at the head of mankind, his own demeanor is ſo miſerably unaſſuming that he would paſs upon a ſtranger for a perſon of little note.

PITT never truſts the delicate taſk of aſſerting his own worth, even to his beſt friends: and every word, deed, and declaration judiciouſly convey, that he thinks himſelf (what he moſt certainly is)—the greateſt man in all the world!!

IF power be precious, to ſurrender it haſtily is the worſt raſhneſs, and no man is worthy of it who does not prove its value by a luſt of procuring and a reluctance at parting it. Fox was always diſplaced by intrigues; but he retires from office with as unfeeling an indifference, as if it was not worth

worth keeping.---No intrigue and no treachery could affect the mind of Pitt. He bravely reſiſted a battery of ſix weeks cenſures from the Commons of England, and never gave up his ſtation until he was kicked off the Treaſury bench.

In every perſonal view the ſuperiority of Pitt is unqueſtionable. A conſcience that can digeſt a direct breach of the moſt ſolemn engagement, and a total obliteration of every ſenſe of gratitude when occaſion requires, are the moſt uſeful attributes of a ſtateſman. In theſe qualities Fox is glaringly defective. He has never been honoured with a reproach for *private* perfidy, his mind cannot aſpire to the dignity of a breach of *public* faith, and the meaneſt perſon that contributed to his exaltation has never accuſed him with an oblivion of favor.---

Pitt ſcorns the diminutive graces of perſonal treachery, his huge ſoul pants for larger glory. A ſignal deception of the moſt auguſt aſſembly in England is alone worthy his capacity, and his vaſt ambition is clogged by no embarraſſments from gratitude to thoſe who promoted him. The firſt act of his Miniſtry (except betraying the Commons) was to diſgrace the very perſon* whoſe hardyhood cauſed his own elevation, and he is ſaid to have lately given a ſpeci-

* The Marquis of Buckingham.

men of this virtue to the firſt perſon in the nation---nay to thoſe " who are greater than " the throne itſelf!" Fifteen years before his time he was called to one of the firſt offices in the Britiſh government by the Earl of Shelburne, and in return, he has laid this nobleman upon the ſhelf, to grow reverend from ruſt, like a piece of virtu.

Fox without power or fortune has a vaſt body of adherents, and ſo inveterate is their attachment, that oppreſſion and treachery againſt their leader only ſerve to encreaſe their fidelity---

Pitt has a ſurer pledge of loyalty, he has place and patronage, and while he continues Miniſter will always command a hoſt of followers.

The external manners of Fox are the moſt unguarded imaginable. What ſtains not the private man, in his judgment, deforms not the public man. He ſacrifices to the ſex with as little diſguiſe as if the thing were not unfaſhionable, and would take a favourite Gabriel by the arm, with as careleſs a ſincerity as the fourth Henry of France, or the fifth of England.---

Malignity itſelf can impute no ſuch ſcandal to Mr. Pitt.

A froward declaration of principles is very indiſcreet in a Miniſter, for the time may come when it may be expedient to renounce

nounce all principles whatever. Fox carries this weakneſs to the moſt ridiculous extreme. He boaſted himſelf the Miniſter of the people, he juſtified the reſumption of violated truſt from Kings, and had the audacity to vindicate the Revolution, when ſeated upon the Treaſury bench.---

PITT with more judgment, boaſted himſelf "the miniſter of the crown." Of Kings and revolutions his prudence kept him ſilent, but then he arraigned the reſumption of violated truſt from a company of trading monopoliſts, with a moſt determined ſincerity.

THEIR India bills reflect an infinity of lights upon theſe two ſtateſmen. Fox broke the charter of the company openly without their conſent. — Pitt broke it cunningly with their conſent. The former placed the authority at home, where its defects might be remedied upon diſcovery, which would be very fatiguing. --- The latter lodged it in India, the ſcene of every iniquity, where the evil is compleated, before we have the pain of hearing one word about it. Fox ſhewed no invention in his ſyſtem. He only went upon the common acknowledged principles of government and placed the execution in the few, the controul in the many. ---Pitt's ſyſtem diſcloſed a mine of invention. He proceeded upon a plan, truly original, and dextrouſly inverted all the received principles of political ſcience. He gave the

execution to the many, and the controul to the few. Fox placed the patronage not in the Crown whoſe influence was already too exorbitant, *by the word of parliament*---not in the Company who had already abuſed it, *by the word of parliament*; but in a body of men whoſe unfortunate honeſty was their only hope of ſafety---for this diſpoſal of it rouſed the vigilance of the whole nation (a temper always injurious to government) and their ruin was infallible upon perverting this influence, oppoſed as they would be to a certainty, by the Crown, the Peers, and the Company, and perhaps by the public — accountable! reſponſible! puniſhable!—

PITT placed the patronage in thoſe very bodies where parliament forbad it, and with great ſkill rendered it their mutual intereſt to connive at their mutual abuſe of it; ſecuring the indemnity of both under the obſcureneſs of their operations, and the difficulty of being detected. The diſpenſers of the India Patronage under this bill, backed by the Crown, the Peers, the Commons, and the Company, may defie the malice and enmity of the whole kingdom.

Fox's bill was conceived in the very ſelfiſhneſs of intellectual pride. It was conſtituted ſo arrogantly perfect in its component parts, that no room was left for the ſkill of parliament. Its efficacy to the government

of

of India was never once diſputed, and it paſſed the Commons without one material change.---

PITT's bill, on the contrary, was founded with a view to the flattery of parliament. It was entirely calculated to try their ſkill at poliſh and amendment, and (excepting the trial by Jury, and the diſpoſal of the patronage) paſſed into a law, as radically tranſmuted as Sir John Cutler's worſted ſtockings. Its experience ſince it paſſed, gives us the delicious hope of having the amuſement of new alterations in it, every new ſeſſions, which will happily furniſh debates for the regiſters! paragraphs for the preſs! converſation for the public! and comments for all Europe!!

FOX impudently reprobated the India delinquents. He defied their power, and fell a victim to it.—

PITT reprobated them alſo with a moſt plauſible gravity, but then he ſecured their ſupport by a moſt ſingular addreſs; and though perhaps he refuſed a title to Haſtings (for Haſtings has ſerved him) he crouches to his creatures, with the moſt engaging condeſcenſion.

SUCCESS is the teſt of all human excellence, and by this infallible criterion, my hero ſurpaſſes his rival beyond the preſumption of parallel---*Fox's bill was the inſtrument*

of

of his down-fall---Pitt's bill confirmed his exaltation.

THE ſame fate characterizes the coalitions that each of them has formed. Fox begun his political life under Lord North. He ſerved with him in the Admiralty, Treaſury, Pells, &c. After a formidable oppoſition of eight years, and when America (Heaven bleſs the King and his friends) had ceaſed to be any object here, he joined Lord North (whoſe alliance was courted at the ſame time by that cabinet of which Pitt was a chief member)---exactly as Cicero joined Antony, and Chatham Newcaſtle. — This coalition is juſtly deemed baſe, vile, and infamous.---

PITT joined men whom he oppoſed during the *whole* of his political life, and very charitably allied himſelf to that cloſet cabal, againſt whom he imbibed an hereditary hatred.---That very cabal whoſe uniform aim was the deſtruction of his father---who diſgraced him in the year ſixty-one, deceived him in ſixty-five, diſhonoured him into a title in ſixty-ſix, and after plucking off the plumage of his popularity, abandoned him ſoon after to the ſhame they betrayed him into, and left him to pine the remainder of his days in penance and mortification.— This coalition is very juſtly deemed wiſe, and virtuous, and holy!!

HAVING given this contraſt of theſe rival politicians (a contraſt too long, I fear, for the

the reader, though too ſhort for the occaſion) what is it, I may aſk, but the moſt frantic folly that can infect the advocates for Fox, with any idea of his equal competency with Pitt to the government of this empire, when (independant of Pitt's amiable deſigns upon the conſtitution, and without bringing any one *good* quality to his aid) his very vices are abſolutely more beneficial to him, than his beſt virtues to Fox?

THE ſame ſuperiority diſtinguiſhes the literary advocates of the miniſtry. The writers for the faction are ſhallow fellows, who cannot go beyond a paltry ſcrap of wit, or a barren fact. A direct attack they ſeldom venture, but ſkulk into obliquity, and hide in implication. The miſerable advantage their poor productions would yield them, had they been written in an upright ſtraight forward ſtile, is utterly loſt: for a jack pudding reader muſt think they are abſolutely labouring for their enemies. But the miniſterial writers diſdain to cripple their cenſures or invelope their meanings. There is a probity in their ſtile which will not deſcend to the fraud of impoſing on their reader. In them you find bone, and nerve, and muſcle, and marrow. They give the faction to the world in its true colours. "Rogues, raſcals, renega-
" does, robbers, raggamuffins, ſcoundrels,
" ſwindlers, ſharpers, brutes, beaſts, bank-
" rupts,

" rupts, blackguards, thieves, liars, knaves, " gamblers, villains, and vagabonds." Here are titles that terrify, *verba ſpumantia*, names that ſtrain the buccinatory muſcles, and ſtagger the very utterance.---Perhaps you would think it as well to ſay nothing of their *ingenuity*, but there I beg pardon. A writer of the moſt ſingular ingenuity has lately entered the liſts for the adminiſtration.

I WILL give the reader the full ſcope of his fancy—let him take in the whole circle of crimination, let him peruſe all the regiſters of ſin, from the Bible to Hill's Sermons, and all the anathemas thundered out from Ernulphus down to my Lord Chancellor;---and in all theſe reſearches, he will, I maintain it, find nothing half ſo curious or half ſo appoſite, as the crime which this writer brings home to the coalition miniſtry. It is neither more nor leſs than a poſitive charge of SECRET INFLUENCE — of Secret Influence without conceit or qualification. By the moſt miraculous penetration, he has diſcovered an exact parallel between the bigotted favouritiſm of Edward, and of Richard the Second, to Deſpencer and the Duke of Ireland, and his preſent Majeſty's dear and loving attachment to the coalition miniſters: namely, to the *Duke of Portland*, to *Lord North*, and to *Charles Fox*. It matters not whether theſe princes admired or abhorred their ſervants—whether they gene-

generouſly adhered to them with the good faith of gentlemen, and the honour of Kings, or baſely betrayed them with the treachery of ruffians—this inſpired writer has made the thing as plain as St. Paul's Cathedral.

THE other parts of his performance are exactly of a piece with the above. *My* zeal for the King's friends has impelled *me* to great lengths; yet the rankeſt Toryiſm recommended or recorded in my pamphlet, is high treaſon compared with the tenets of this invaluable politician. He tells us what is certainly true, that our only hope centers in the executive power—that it is ſhameful the King cannot command money otherwiſe than by begging it from Parliament.—That the Civil Liſt Reform bill was an impudent infringement upon the influence of the crown.—That the debts contracted by eſtabliſhing the revolution, and by reducing the power of Lewis XIV. were not worth the acquiſition—that the victories under the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Chatham were ſerious injuries—that the electors of the kingdom are a ſet of corrupt miſcreants—that the late Houſe of Commons was a herd of knaves—and that all the virtue and wiſdom of the Engliſh nation, is depoſited in the Houſe of Lords.

LOOK aſkance at the beſt man living, and he will ſeem deformed, ſay the philoſophers, —ſurvey the worſt with complacency, and you will find graces about him. This liberal line has

has been adopted by this excellent writer. He has cited the moſt furious meaſures of the Houſe of Commons, in the moſt furious of times, contraſted with the amiable ſtruggles of the hereditary repreſentatives of the people; he demonſtrates the vice of the democratic branch, points out the expediency of its demolition, and proves beyond all doubt, that the Lords alone deſerve our confidence.

ALL the importance that a ſyſtem of reaſoning can derive from the dignity of the reaſoner is due to this pamphlet. Had the reviler of the Houſe of Commons been ſome reprobate vomited forth by that Houſe as unfit to ſit in it.—Had the reviler of the electors been a wretch of *ſuch* a complexion, that the moſt profligate ſet of vote-mongers in the corrupteſt borough throughout the country would not touch with a tongs—the force of his calumnies might have been ſomewhat impaired. But when the reader knows his name, and knows that it is a man of that *Romaniſm* of ſoul, which would not contaminate itſelf by entering ſuch a ſink of filth as the Houſe of Commons—a man of the moſt ſplendid reputation, and the moſt unſullied honour—who has no aſperities from diſappointment, no mortifications from the world's contempt—but who in the plenitude of conviction, in the fulneſs of congeniality, engages cordially in the miniſter's cauſe—when the reader learns that the

author

author of this pamphlet is *Sir William Meredith* himſelf; its doctrines, precious before, will acquire a tenfold value upon that rapturous information!

Sir William Meredith is the man who has thus figured under the miniſterial ſtandard—fit client for ſuch patrons!—Unfortunate Burke*, thy laurels now indeed are blighted! *infelix atque impar congreſſus Achilli*—oppoſed by ſuch a combatant as Sir William Meredith, thy fall is certain!

This tranſcendent merit ſurely can never paſs unrewarded under ſuch a miniſtry. Sir William has ſervices to recount, and ſympathies to plead, beſide his political abilities. A peerage is the leaſt he deſerves for his invectives againſt the Commons, and he is qualified for that dignity by all thoſe graces that characteriſe ſome wealthier candidates for the ſame honour! Defects of fortune may be ſupplied from the privy purſe, and Sir William can then puſh forward the cauſe in the full force of all his powers, for he is bleſſed with a variety of faculties, and is not confined to common channels in exhibiting his genius: *idoneus arti cuilibet.*

One omiſſion only is obſervable in Sir William Meredith's pamphlet. The defamation of the heir apparent ſeems the chief aim of the miniſterial writers, and Sir William has groſly neglected it. His next

* Sir William attacks a pamphlet of Mr. Burke's with infinite genius and ſkill.

eſſay

eſſay will, however, I doubt not, make amends for that unpardonable informality.

THIS PRINCE's NAME ſuggeſts to me the deſperateneſs of our condition, ſhould this conſtitution ſurvive the preſent reign. Alas! what chance of happineſs could we have under ſuch a King as the preſent heir of the Engliſh crown. A Prince conſtituted as his aſſociates ſay, of every thing inauſpicious to our beſt wiſhes, without deceit, duplicity, or any of the other kingly virtues requiſite to the furtherance of this great ſcheme — who feels the zeal of a rank Whig for this conſtitution—whom Whig topics and Whig characters conſtantly engroſs—who is weak enough to venerate the principles that raiſed his family to the Britiſh throne, and to love their deſcendants, who accompliſhed that daring change — who neither cants nor affects to cant — whoſe faults like his virtues are the faults of a man — open ingenuous, undiſguiſed—whoſe character is pictured in his face, whoſe heart ſpeaks in his words—who regards a friend with the ſincerity of an equal, and is as cautious of his good faith, as if he were not deſtined for a diadem—who ſoftens the prince with the urbanity of the gentleman, and exalts the gentleman with the graces of the prince!

THIS is their repreſentation who know him beſt, and curſed with our preſent plagues,

plagues, our miſeries would ſure be endleſs under *his* ſucceſſion. Surrounded by a hoſt of Whigs, and contaminating the land with Whig principles, not one hope would remain for *us*.

Heu ſtirpem inviſam et fatis contraria noſtris
Fata Phrygum.——

DILLIGENCE and activity in our ſeveral ſpheres may now ſave us and our poſterity from this calamitous entail. Seaſon and opportunity favour us. The people (pretend the faction what they may) the people I affirm, are decidedly with us. That the Pitt epidemic is cured, is now the enemy's cry,---but the Pitt epidemic is *not* cured. Miſerable philoſophers are they indeed who think the public mind flies from reaſon, and recurs to it again, with the ſame celerity. In decency to themſelves, the people cannot diſgrace the part they have ſo lately acted, by ſo early a recantation, nor deſert the dear youth until (by his ſtriking a great blow in the lucky criſis) their deſertion only provokes his ridicule. The nation, in truth, appears ſick of this conſtitution. The love of liberty is openly ſtigmatized as a hair-brained whimſical reverie. A deluge ſeems to have over-run the country, and happily ſwept away ſenſation, intelligence, and ſpirit. Public ignorance is ever favourable to the deſigns of power.

" Fools grant whate'er ambition craves,
" And men, once ignorant, are ſlaves."

That indeed is the golden hour of opportunity, and this paroxiſm we have luckily attained. Deſpotic monarchs, and enſlaved countries are the themes of our admiration —free ſtates and freedom the but of our ridicule. That brilliant flame of national contempt for America, which for ten years before the American war pervaded this nation, * which ſubjected every man who ventured a word in vindication of the colonies, to a ſuſpicion of treaſon againſtthe preſent ſtate, and which fortunately ſevered us from ſuch deſpicable wretches—flouriſhes at this moment as vigorouſly as ever againſt that country. A portion of the ſame laudable ſentiment prevails towards Ireland, as blindly ignorant at the ſame time of the real diſeaſe of Ireland, as if Ireland lay under the North Pole. As to the Dutch, the nation is bravely burſting with hatred againſt them, and why?—Becauſe we were never at war with them before the year eighty-one—becauſe Empires are cemented by the faith that binds individuals—

* Profeſſed hoſtility to America had the ſame ſucceſs in the general elections of 1768 and 1774, with profeſſed *Pittiſm* in the late elections; which fact by the way, imparts an additional grace to the illuſtrious youth's invectives againſt Lord North for the American war.

——— "The people's voice is odd,
It *is*, and it is *not*, the voice of God."

becauſe

becauſe the Dutch ſhould not in decency eat, drink, ſleep, grow fat, take phyſic **** or **** without our ſpecial leave: *for that* we helped them into independence two hundred years ago—from our enmity to Philip II. and aſſiſted them in retaining that independance one hundred years ago—from the neceſſity we felt of humbling Lewis XIV. And as if the Dutch common-wealth was of no more weight in the ſcale of Europe than the Engliſh Commons in the ſcale of the Engliſh conſtitution, this nation burns againſt that people, with the rational revenge of a ſchool-boy ſcratched by his play-fellow.

An obvious good fortune may reſult to the miniſtry from the embarraſſments of Holland. In reward of the treacherous friendſhip of France, it is poſſible the Dutch may yield up ſome of their Eaſtern territories, and the French, aided by the Indian princes, (who *all* hate us mortally) may perhaps exterminate the Engliſh completely from Aſia. The miniſtry (their cares being then condenſed to the management of this iſland ſingly) will not be diverted by external objects; and we may indeed hope to have our happineſs eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid baſis.

This is indeed a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed; and in the contemplation of it I ſhall now take my leave of the reader: invoking the genius of monarchy, that is, the

the ſpirit of good government, to illumine his underſtanding, as it has enlightened mine—that he may be induced to give his portion of aid to further the general felicity of human nature, and the particular happineſs of his native country---by ſupporting this Miniſtry with might and main!!

For myſelf, I have only one thing to exact from the reader---that wherever I have failed to do full juſtice to the preſent Adminiſtration, he will impute the defect to lack of parts, and not of zeal for their ſucceſs---And if hereafter, when this crooked fabric ſhall be eraſed to the ground, the meaneſt man ſhould attribute to my panegyricks any promotion of that great event, in *ſuch* a cauſe the ſlighteſt praiſe will outweigh an immortality in any other, and I ſhall with truth exclaim in the words of the poet:

Sublimi feriam ſidera vertice.

London, *January* 22, 1785.

F I N I S.